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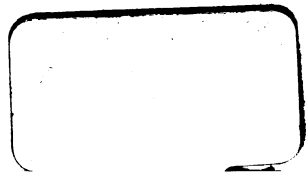

TRAVELS

IN

CANADA,

AND

THE UNITED STATES,

IN

1816 AND 1817.

BY LIEUT. FRANCIS HALL,

14TH LIGHT DRAGOONS, H. P.

BOSTON:

RE-PUBLISHED FROM THE LONDON EDITION

By Wells and Lilly.

1818.

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TO

WILLIAM BATTIE WRIGHTSON,

WILLIAM EMPSON,

AND

ROBERT MONSEY ROLFE,

BROTHER WYKEHAMISTS,

THESE TRAVELS,

ARE DEDICATED,

BY

THEIR OLD SCHOOL-FELLOW

AND AFFECTIONATE FRIEND,

FRANCIS HALL.

TRAVELS IN CANADA,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

VOYAGE.

January, 1816.

I SAILED from Liverpool on the 20th of January, after having been detained several weeks by a continuance of west winds, which usually prevail through the greater part of the winter. Indeed, they have become so prevalent of late years, as to approach very nearly to the nature of a trade wind. They forced us to lie to, twelve, out of the forty-four days we spent on our passage. Our vessel was an American, excellently built and commanded. The American Captains are supposed, with some reason, to make quicker voyages than the English, with whom celerity was, during the war, a less essential object. They pride themselves on the speed of their ships as sportsmen do on that of their horses. Our Minerva was one of the first class of these "Horses of the Main." They prefer standing across the Atlantic in the direct line of their port, to the easier but more tedious route of the trades. This sporting spirit commonly costs their passengers a few qualms of the stomach, but saves time; no trifling consideration, when time is so miserably spent.

Landsmen, who shrink from the seemingly endless breadth of the whole Atlantic, commonly divide it into three distances, viz.: the Azores, the Banks, and Soundings. Nothing occurred to make the lati-

tude of the Azores cognizable by terrestrial eyes; but the discolouring of the water, and a heavy incumbent fog sufficiently evinced our approach to the Banks; these symptoms were accompanied by the usual degree of cold, which indicates the proximity of land, whether above the water or below it. We made the following observations on the temperature in this neighbourhood:

	Time.	Air.	Water.
Feb. 14.	6 P. M.	66°	59°
15.	9 A. M.	53°	48°
	10 A. M.	50°	43°
	11 A. M.	48°	38°
	1 P. M.	46°	33°
	6 P. M.	38°	32°
16.	10 A. M.	37°	33°
		Soundings 35 feet.	
17.	10 A. M.	38°	57°
	2 P. M.	40°	57°
18.	9 A. M.	52°	64°
19.	12 A. M.	60°	61°*

We had eagerly anticipated a regale of cod fish on the Banks; lines were thrown out, and the silver mail of one victim soon glistened, as he ascended through the green wave; but, alas! he proved no harbinger of fortune, and it seemed as if he had been made the cat's paw of his mute society, who, by no means satisfied with the result of their first experiment, refused unanimously to repeat it. Luckily we were not imitating the heroes of the "*Almanach des Gourmands*," who in old and modern days, have made the grand tour of gluttony for the express purpose of surfeiting themselves at every classick spot with the delicacy which had won its renown.

* Some of these variations seem to indicate the Temperature of the Gulf stream, into which we were sometimes forced by the prevalence of N. W. winds, without knowing it; the American Captains very commonly use the Thermometer to ascertain this circumstance.

On the 27th, we touched on the Gulf Stream, where it flows round the Bank, and made the following observations: —

	Air.	Water.	Long.	Lat.
April 27. 11 A. M.	52°	64°	64° w.	39° 34′ N.
28. 9 A. M.	53°	63°		
29. 10 A. M.	60°	54°	68° w.	39° 22′ N.
March 1. 12 A. M.	52°	48°	70° w.	39° 30′ N.
2. 10 A. M.	49°	45°		

It is to this difference of temperature betwixt the Gulf Stream and the adjacent waters, that M. Volney attributes the Bank fogs. He observes, (Tome 1, Page 238,)

"*Il en doit résulter le double effet d'une évaporation plus abondante, provoquée par la tiédeur de ces eaux exotiques et d'une condensation plus etendue, à raison de la froideur des eaux indigènes et de leur atmosphère, qui précisément se trouve dans la direction des vents du nord-est.*"*

There is some difficulty in this part of the voyage, to escape the action of the stream to the south, which soon begins to be sensible, and at the same time to avoid the dangerous shoals of Nantucket to the north.

I felt little concern about Nantucket, at this time, except to keep at a respectful distance from it; but I have since met with some interesting particulars relative to this inglorious little island. Its inhabitants are reckoned at 5000, some of whom are worth 20,000*l.* each. It contains 23,000 acres of land, and was originally possessed by the Nantucks, an Indian tribe, some of whom still remain on it, having peaceably incorporated with the Europeans, and joined in their occupations. The soil was originally a barren sand, but the industry of the inhabitants has

* *Vide* Humboldt's Observations on the Variations of Temperature in the Gulf Stream, and on the Bank.—"*Personal Narrative*," vol. 1, page 50. He observes a difference of only 13° between them. This was in June. *Vide*, also, M. Volney's Table of experiments, page 235, in which the greatest difference is 23°. Ours was 31°.

made it capable of pasturing large flocks of sheep, which constituted, in the infancy of the settlement, a common stock, but their chief employment is whaleing, at which they are equally diligent and daring; doubling Cape Horn in pursuit of their game. The profits of this trade afford them both the necessaries and comforts of life. The luxuries are forbidden both by their character and religion, which is unmixed Presbyterianism. The only recreation they used to allow themselves, was driving in parties to a little spot, which they rescued from barrenness, converted into a kind of publick garden. The traveller, from whom I borrow this account, gives a lively picture of their hospitality, and of the simplicity of their manners,* which supersedes the necessity of those inventions and restraints so inefficient in more polished societies. The whole community affords an admirable instance of what human industry will effect, when left to the unshackled direction of its own exertions. They have, particularly the women, an odd habit of taking a small quantity of opium every morning. It is difficult to divine whence they have imported this unwholesome luxury.† The only books this traveller found in the island, except the bible, where Hudibras and Josephus; many of the inhabitants could repeat lines of the former, without having much notion to what they referred. Martha's vineyard is a settlement of much the same kind as Nantucket. It derives its name from that part of it which was originally the portion of the first settler's daughter. They formerly constituted part of the State of New York, but now of Massachusetts.

The last few days of our passage were blest with such favouring gales, and an atmosphere so warm and

* He mentions a great outcry raised in the commonwealth, by the luxury of a spring waggon.

† I have since heard it remarked, that this practice is very general in America.

bright that the sea gods seemed resolved we should part good friends.—Unluckily this gleam of good fortune was extinguished in a cold heavy fog, when we approached the American coast, by which we were deprived of the lovely prospect which opens upon the entrance of the harbour of New York. We anchored close to the quays, and eagerly began to escape from the place of our durance, which Dr. Johnson flatters when he styles "it a prison, with a chance of being drowned." The chance of being drowned forms the least of its miseries. In most cases it is a complete annihilation of all faculties, both of mind and body: perhaps I should except that of mastication, which went on, generally with great vigour, during the whole of the voyage.—I owe honourable mention to our "*Compagnons de Voyage*," who, though of many trades and nations, united in the maintenance of harmony, and in support of the general weal. We were about eighteen in number; among whom were several Americans, who contributed their full share of good humour and sociability. We disputed for the honour of our countries, but our disputes invariably ended, as, it were to be wished, all national disputes should end, in a hearty laugh; and when I saw, during these forty-four days, how easily the jarring elements of our body corporate blended for general convenience, I was induced to think the rulers of the Earth take too much both pains and credit unto themselves, for holding together the patch-work of society.

CHAPTER II.

NEW YORK.

March 5th.

New York is built on the tongue of land, at the point of which the Hudson and East rivers effect their junction. The principal street (Broadway) runs along the ridge, and terminates in a small parade, planted with trees, designed originally for a battery; a destiny it fulfilled during the war; but since "the piping time of peace," it has again reverted to the occupancy of fashionable pedestrians, and moonlight lovers.—From this point the eye commands, towards the left, the coast of Long Island, with the wooded heights of Brooklyn; on the right, Sandy-Hook, with the mountain shores of Jersey; while the mouth of the Bay lies before it, studded with bastioned islands, and gay with the white canvas of the American river craft, glancing like graceful sea-birds through their native element. From Broadway, streets diverge irregularly to either river, and terminate in extensive warehouses, and quays, constantly crowded. The houses are generally good, frequently elegant, but it requires American eyes to discover that Broadway competes with the finest streets of London or Paris. New York is reckoned to contain at present about 100,000 inhabitants, and is spreading rapidly northward. I was told that 2000 houses were contracted for, to be built in the ensuing year. There are fifty churches, or chapels, of different sects; a proof that a national church is not indispensable for the maintenance of religion.

The Town Hall is an elegant building of white marble, standing at right angles to Broadway. The plot of ground in front of it is railed round and planted. The interior is well arranged for the purposes of business. The state rooms of the Mayor and Corporation are ornamented with the portraits of several of the Governours of New York, and whole lengths of the officers most distinguished during the late war. Some of these seemed well executed; but if the State should always reward upon as large a scale, their future heroes must consent to occupy the garrets of the building. There is a good portrait of the first Dutch Governour of the State. That of Columbus was repairing. It is a considerable defect in this building, that the basement story is of a red granite, which, at a distance, has the appearance of brick. The staircase is circular, lighted by a cupola, and, in the style of its construction, not unlike that of Drury-lane theatre. The state rooms, and courts of justice are on the first floor. The sessions court was sitting during my visit, and I went in. My first impression arose from the truly republican plainness of justice, stripped of all "pomp and circumstance," flowing wigs, ermine, and silk gowns. Both the Judges and Counsellors were in the dress of private gentlemen, the latter hardly to be distinguished from the spectators, who, without much ceremony, crowded round the tribunal. A female was tried for stealing several hundred dollars; she was found guilty, and sentenced to imprisonment. The punishment of death is abolished in the state of New York in all cases, except murder and arson: other crimes are punished by confinement and labour. To America belongs the glory of having first made the experiment of the least waste of life with which society can be preserved. The General Hospital and Lunatic Asylum are contiguous buildings. I had an opportunity of visiting them with one of the Physicians, and was pleased to observe the feeling

kindness of his manner towards the unfortunate victims of insanity, who seemed to greet him as a friend. One patient was pointed out to us, whose delusion consisted in imagining himself black.

I spent an evening at the theatre. It is a shabby building without, and poorly lighted and decorated within. The play was *Columbus*, a wretched hash of different plays and stories, miserably acted. The audience, like that of a Portsmouth theatre, consisted almost entirely of men.—I saw nothing resembling a Lady in the house, and but few females. The Americans are generally considered to have little taste for the drama; or for musick, beyond what is necessary for a dance; dancing being in New York, as in most parts of the world, the favourite amusement of the ladies; they dance cotillions, because they fancy they excel in French dances, and despise country dances for the same reason. The young men have the character of being dissipated, living much apart from their families in boarding houses. Good dinners are in high esteem in the upper commercial circles, and I had occasion to bear witness both to the skill of their cooks, and the hospitality of the entertainers.*

I was naturally curious to visit the famous Steam frigate, or Floating Battery, built for the defence of the harbour; this favour I obtained through Dr. Mitchell, the great philosopher of New York, of whom it is fit to mention, that he has been lately en-

* Two curious instances of disease were related at one of these dinner parties by General North. One, of the tarantula infection, in which the sufferer, a female, was vehemently affected by musick, and the application of particular odours, in discovering which she evinced an acuteness of smell, infinitely beyond what is found in the healthful state. The other was the case of a female, who was attacked by lethargy, at the end of which her memory had wholly forsaken her, so that she was obliged to begin again the rudiments of education; but upon a recurrence of the fit, a considerable time afterwards, she awoke, perfectly restored to a recollection of all she had known previous to the first attack of the disease.

gaged in the Icthyology of his country, and has discovered, or, to use his own expression, "can lift up his hand and declare," that the Smelt of the Transatlantic epicure is neither more nor less than the Smelt so honoured by European gourmands. He is besides a man of considerable mechanical science, and mentioned several of his plans for the improvement of the Steam Frigate, in constructing which I believe he bore a principal part. One plan was to obviate the intolerable heat in the neighbourhood of the engines, by introducing fresh air through tubes near the surface of the water, bent upwards to prevent its entering. Another was to discharge from the engine a force of water sufficient to overwhelm any boarding boat, or drench the gun deck of any ship alongside.—The length of the frigate is 150 feet; breadth of beam 50; and thickness of sides four feet. She works either way, and is said to be sufficiently manageable, and well calculated for harbour defence.

Considerable apprehensions were entertained during the war, of a domiciliary visit to New York by a British squadron. This alarm gave birth to the various forts and batteries which now grin defiance on the different islets at the mouth of the river, and project from several points along the quays of the town. Fortifications were also thrown up on the opposite heights of Brooklyn, on Long Island, where they command the city. I made a tour of them one morning, and found five forts or redoubts connected by bastioned lines. The three on the right were covered by an inundation, the remainder sufficiently approachable. The whole are now abandoned, and hastening to decay. The soil of the island is sand, mixed with scattered blocks of talkous granite,* used for paving the city.

* Besides Granite, I picked up Quartz with Cholrite, and Lydian stone.

There is a small museum in New York, the best part of which is a collection of birds, well preserved; and the worst a set of wax work figures, among whom are Saul in a Frenchman's embroidered coat, the Witch of Endor in the costume of a House-maid, and Samuel in a robe de chambre and cotton night-cap. The establishment is not in very learned hands, to judge by the labels on the different Articles: I read on one, "a peace of Seder," *vice* "a piece of Cedar." I had little means of ascertaining the state of literature in New York. Books were extremely dear: cheap editions are indeed struck off of all our modern Poets, but they are more expensive than books of the same size in England, and are miserably incorrect. The Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews are reprinted as soon as they arrive, and are in great request; but I could hear of no American Review or Magazine, which even American Booksellers would recommend. I met however with a few good works of native growth: Wilson's Ornithology is not only interesting for its descriptions, but the plates are executed and coloured in a very superiour style. I found a calculation in it relative to the flocks of wild pigeons, which move annually northward, from the back of the central and southern states, enough to startle an European reader, but which has in a great measure been confirmed to me by eye witnesses. He says, "he observed a flock passing betwixt Francfort and the Indiana territory, one mile at least in breadth; it took up four hours in passing, which, at the rate of one mile per minute, gives a length of 240 miles, and supposing three pigeons to each square yard, gives 2,230,272,000 pigeons." Their breeding places he describes as many miles in extent. Birds of prey glut themselves above, hogs and other animals are fattened with the squabs which tumble down, and cover the ground, on every high wind. This prodigious increase seems to resemble nothing

so much as the herring shoals.* Indeed both the aerial and aquatick communities seem to stand in need of Mr. Malthus's checks to superabundant population.† It would be ingratitude to quit New York without mention of its erudite and right pleasant Historian, Diedrich Knickerbocker,‡ whose history of the first Dutch governours of the settlement deserves a favoured niche by the side of the revered Cid Hamet Benengeli, and the facetious Biographer of my Uncle Toby.

* "The Turtle Doves are so numerous in Canada, that the Bishop has been forced to excommunicate them oftener than once, upon account of the damage they do to the produce of the earth. We embarked and made towards a meadow in the neighbourhood of which the trees were covered with that sort of fowls more than with leaves. For just then it was the season in which they retire from the north countries and repair to the southern climates, and one would have thought that all the Turtle Doves upon earth had chosen to pass through this place." —Lahontan. 1. Letter xi. 1687.

† To preserve the skins of birds, Mr. Wilson recommends a strong solution of arsenick to be rubbed within side, and a little powdered arsenick to be sprinkled outwardly, with camphor in the box.

‡ Washington Irvine, Esq.

CHAPTER III.

STEAM BOAT.

I EMBARKED on the 9th of March, in the Paragon steam packet, from New York to Albany. The winter had been less severe than usual, which induced the captain to attempt making his way up the Hudson earlier than is customary. These steam boats are capable of accommodating from 2 to 300 passengers; they are about 120 feet in length, and as elegant in their construction as the awkward-looking machinery in the centre will permit. There are two cabins, one for the ladies, into which no gentleman is admitted without the concurrence of the whole company. The interior arrangements, on the whole, resemble those of our best packets. I was not without apprehension, that a dinner in such a situation, for above 150 persons, would very much resemble the scramble of a mob; I was however agreeably surprised by a dinner handsomely served, very good attendance, and a general attention to quiet and decorum: "Truly, thought I, these republicans are not so barbarous." Indeed when the cabin was lighted up for tea and sandwiches in the evening, it more resembled a ball-room supper, than, as might have been expected, a stage-coach meal. The charge, including board, from New York to Albany, 160 miles, is seven dollars.

We started under the auspices of a bright frosty morning: The first few minutes were naturally spent by me in examining the machinery, by means of which our huge leviathan, with such evident ease,

won her way against the opposing current: but more interesting objects are breaking fast on the view; on our right are the sloping sides of New York Island, studded with villas, over a soil from which the hand of cultivation has long since rooted its woodland glories, substituting the more varied decorations of park and shrubbery, intersected with brown stubbles and meadows; while on our left, the bold features of nature rise, as in days of yore, unimpaired, unchangeable; grey cliffs, like aged battlements, tower perpendicularly from the water's edge to the height of several hundred feet.* Hickory, dwarf oak, and stunted cedars, twist fantastically within their crevices, and deepen the shadows of each glen into which they occasionally recede; huge masses of disjointed rocks are scattered at intervals below; here the sand has collected sufficiently to afford space for the woodman's hut, but the narrow waterfall, which in summer turns his saw-mill, is now a mighty icicle glittering to the morning sun; here and there a scarcely perceptible track conducts to the rude wharf, from which the weather-worn lugger receives her load of timber for the consumption of the city. A low white monument near one of these narrow strands marks the spot on which the good and gallant Hamilton offered the sacrifice of his life to those prejudices, which noble minds have so seldom dared to despise. He crossed from the State of New York to evade the laws of his country, and bow to those of false shame and mistaken honour. His less fortunate adversary still survives in New York, as obscure and unnoticed as he was once conspicuous.

Evening began to close in as we approached the highlands: The banks on either side towered up more boldly, and a wild tract of mountain scenery rose beyond them: The river, which had been gra-

* The whole of this ridge closely resembles Undercliff in the Isle of Wight.

dually widening, now expanded into a capacious lake, to which the eye could distinguish no outlets; flights of wild fowl were skimming over its smooth surface to their evening shelter, and the last light of day rested faintly on a few white farm houses, glimmering at intervals from the darkening thickets: Verplank's Point shuts the northern extremity of this first basin: The River continues its course within a cliff-bound channel, until, after a few miles, it again opens out amid the frowning precipices of West Point: Here are the same features of scenery as at Verplank's Point, but loftier mountains skirt the lake; and cliffs of more gigantic stature almost impend above the gliding sail.* The moon was riding in a cloudless sky, and as her silver colouring fell on the grey cliffs of the left banks, the mountains on the other side projected their deepened shadows, with encreased solemnity, on the unruffled waters.

This was the land of romance to the early settlers: Indian tradition had named the Highlands the prison within which Manetho confined the spirits rebellious to his power, until the mighty Hudson, rolling through the stupendous defiles of West Point, burst asunder their prison house; but they long lingered near the place of their captivity, and as the blasts howled through the valleys, echo repeated their groans to the startled ear of the solitary hunter, who watched by his pine-tree fire for the approach of morning. The lights, which occasionally twinkled from the sequestered bay, or wooded promontory, sufficiently told that these fancies, like the Indians, who had invented or transmitted them, must by this time have given way to the unpoetick realities of civilised life.

Masses of floating ice, which had, at intervals through the evening, split upon the bow of our ark, became so frequent immediately on our passing West

* The average of these heights is probably about 300 feet; the highest is reckoned at 1100.

Point, as to oblige us to come to anchor for the night; a pretty sure prognostick that there was nearly an end to our feather-bed travelling. The next morning we found ourselves lying close to the flourishing little settlement of Newburgh, on the right bank of the river: Our captain having concluded to terminate his voyage here, moved over to Fishkill, on the opposite shore, to give us means of accommodating ourselves with conveyances, in the best way we could.

CHAPTER IV.

NEW YORK TO ALBANY.

March 10th.	Verplank's-Point,	44 miles,
	West-Point,	14
	Newburgh, Fishkill,	8
11th.	Poughkeepsie,	14
	Rhinebeck,	20,
12th.	Clermont,	
	Kinderhook,	40
	Schodach, Van Valtenburgs,	8
13th.	Albany,	12
		160 Miles.

We were conveyed to Poughkeepsie in a kind of covered cart: The West-Point hills lay in a long ridge behind us, stretching east and west. The country through which we passed, though comparatively low, undulated in the same direction. About three miles from Fishkill a wild torrent rushed over its bed of broken rocks, across the road: The romantick bridge flung over its brawling course, the mill on its craggy banks, and the deep wooden glen, down which it hastens to the Hudson, deserve a place in every traveller's journal. Poughkeepsie was the first country town, or rather village, I had seen; and as the features of all are much alike, it shall be described for a specimen. Houses of wood, roofed with shingles, neatly painted, with generally from four to six sash windows on each floor, two stories high, and a broad veranda, resting on neat wooden pillars, along the whole of the front: such is the

common style of house-building through the whole State: It unites to cleanly neatness a degree of elegance, confined in England to the cottage *ornée;* but here common to all houses; very few sink to a meaner fashion: this seems strange to the eye accustomed to a hundred wretched hovels for one habitation of graceful comfort; but poverty has not yet wandered beyond the limits of great towns in America; in the country every man is a land owner, and has competence within his grasp; "*O fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint.*" The whole of this beautiful passage may be well applied to American farmers: To them the earth is "most just," for they are industrious and enterprising, and they have not yet discovered the necessity of yielding 10 parts of their earnings to their Government, to take care of the remaining 20th. At Poughkeepsie, as in almost all American towns, are two or three large inns, in which dinner is provided at a certain hour, for all travellers *en masse*; nor is it an easy matter any where to procure a separate meal; indeed privacy, either in eating, sleeping, conversation, or government, seems quite unknown and unknowable to the Americans, to whom it appears, whether political or domestick, a most unnatural as well as unreasonable desire, which only Englishmen are plagued with.

There is no want of churches, either here or in any other village of this state, but they are all built of the same perishable materials: Mr. Jefferson, in his "Notes on Virginia," objects to this method of building, which adds nothing to the riches of the state; but as long as wood continues plentiful and labour dear, houses will be built in the readiest and cheapest manner. The same fashion was once general in our own country: Knickerbocker, in his humorous way, thus describes this passion of the Yankee settler for building large wooden houses. "Improvement is his darling passion, and having thus improved his lands, the next care is to provide

mansion worthy the residence of a landholder. A huge palace of pineboards immediately springs up in the midst of the wilderness, large enough for a parish church, and furnished with windows of all dimensions, but so rickety and flimsy withal, that every blast gives it a fit of the ague. By the time the outside of this mighty air castle is completed, either the funds or the zeal of our adventurer are exhausted, so that he barely manages to half finish one room within, where the whole family burrow together, while the rest of the house is devoted to the curing of pumpkins, or storing of carrots and potatoes, and is decorated with fanciful festoons of wilted peaches and dried apples. The outside, remaining unpainted, grows venerably black with time: The family wardrobe is laid under contribution for old hats, petticoats, and breeches, to stuff into the broken windows. The humble log hut, which whilome nestled this improving family snugly within its narrow but comfortable walls, stands hard by in ignominious contrast, degraded into a cowhouse or pig-stye; and the whole scene reminds one forcibly of a fable, which, I am surprised has never been recorded, of an aspiring snail, who quitted his humble habitation, which he filled with great respectability, to crawl into the empty shell of a lobster, where he would no doubt, have resided in great style and splendour, the envy and hate of all the painstaking snails of his neighbourhood, had he not accidentally perished with cold in one corner of his stupendous mansion."

About a mile from Poughkeepsie we were surprised to meet a very handsome covered sociable, drawn by four excellent horses, sent, we were told for the accommodation of the gentleman I was accompanying to Canada: almost at the same instant, a mounted courier rode up to tell us his master had vehicles prepared for us; this extraordinary zeal arose from the competition of these two proprie-

tors, who had heard of our coming, and probable wants, from some fellow passengers, who had a few minutes start of us; we had considerable difficulty in adjusting their civil claims, yielding however the palm of preference to the one who had so actively exhibited a specimen of his means: He engaged to convey ourselves, four servants, and baggage, to Albany, for 150 dollars: a charge we found so reasonable that we made him some additional compensation at the end of the journey. Let therefore Mr. Butler's name, carriage, horses, and drivers, descend with honour to posterity, should posterity ever make inquiries about him, or them. What precise proportion of this moderation was owing to the strong spirit of opposition betwixt him and his neighbour, may be left to the calculating conjectures of the worldly reader.

At Kinderhook we found a militia court martial going forward. Curiosity induced us to step for a moment into the "Hall of Justice," where a scene presented itself on which Hogarth would have banqueted: The Colonel President sat at the head of the table; a cocked hat, equal in size to three degenerate Wellingtons of modern days, with a crimson feather, adorned his untrimmed locks, "but redder than the plume so red," a nose, all gemmed and carbuncled, flamed beneath it; a coloured silk handkerchief was tied loosely round his neck; before him stood a large jug of whiskey punch, and beside it the swords of his fellow judges bundled together, while their owners, in heterogeneous garb, half-farmer, half-soldier, sate round the table, posing, in quaint phrase of guessing, and mistering, the witnesses, who, to prevent discordant evidence, were all placed in court to hear one another's story.

We slept this night at the village of Schodach, where the clean little inn, and obliging family of Mr. Van Valtenburgh merit our grateful remembrance; the whole establishment is a pattern of

Dutch neatness, with not a little of English comfort: It was the more agreeable to us, from our having here first got rid of the train of passengers, who were turned out with ourselves from the steam boat, and had been flooding every inn we came to ever since: I found, among a small collection of books belonging to Miss Van Valtenburgh, Miss Edgeworth's "Patronage;" indeed I went into few American houses, without meeting with some of our popular works. Surely it must be no inconsiderable source of gratification to such writers as Scott and Edgeworth, to think their productions are circulated, "to raise the morals, and amend the hearts" of the dwellers on the Hudson, and the borderers of Lake Champlain.

We approached Albany through a country gently undulating, and pretty thickly intersected with forests, from which, however, their noblest timber has been almost wholly extracted. On the right bank of the Hudson, a bold ridge of mountains extends from Katskill to the neigbourhood of Albany, (called the Katskill Ridge)* altogether in the direction of the river. Dr. Mitchell found the basis of these mountains to consist of the same freestone as that of the Blue Ridge, of which he conceives them to be a prolongation, and to mark the limit betwixt the region of freestone and that of granite. Nearly opposite to Albany is Greenbush, a large wooded hill, on which are barracks, it is said, for near 10,000 men. We found a regular road to the town across the ice, and prepared, not without some misgivings for the future, to part from Mr. Butler's excellent four-in-hand.

* The highest point of this ridge has been estimated at 3549 feet. Vide Volney, "Tableau du Climat," &c. tom. i. p. 35.

CHAPTER VI.

ALBANY.

It is curious to find a considerable remnant of feudalism in a young democracy of North America. This, however, is the case in the neighbourhood of Albany. A Dutch gentleman, Mr. Van Rensselaer, still retains the title of Patroon; his seigniories are said to extend over thirty miles of territory, burthened with all the catalogue of incidents, fines, tolls, quit-rents, reservations, proprietorships of mills, &c. &c. common to old European tenures. Many of the neighbouring villages continue almost entirely Dutch, among which, improvement, probably from the above circumstance, goes on very slowly. The town of Albany has a gay, thriving appearance, with nothing Dutch about it but the names of some of its inhabitants. What traces of primeval manners still linger in their domestic economy, I am not entitled to decide: the historian of New York, in the first volume of his erudite Researches, p. 157, does indeed charge "some families in Albany" with still keeping up an economical expedient of their ancestors for sweetening tea, viz. by suspending "a large lump of sugar directly over the tea-table, by a string from the ceiling, so that it could be swung from mouth to mouth." It is probable, however, he found some reason to doubt the continuance of this custom, during his last visit to Albany, after the publication of his work: vide an "Account of the Author," prefixed to his history, p. ix. One specimen of Dutch manners did indeed fall under my own observation at Schodach. An old lady, who had finished her morning drive before we

had begun ours, was saluted by our landlord's daughter with the pristine ceremony of a small stove of warm coals, decorously introduced beneath her full-flowing petticoats.

Albany being the seat of government for New York, has a parliament-house, dignified with the name of the Capitol, which, as in duty bound, stands upon a hill, and has a lofty columned porch; but as the building is but small, it looks all porch. There is a miserable little museum here, with a group of waxen figures, representing the execution of Louis XVI., brought from France: it is impossible not to give them the praise of being natural, if a ghasty semblance of life, so close as to make one start, deserve the name. The furious attitude of the executioner, stretching out his arms from the top of the scaffold-steps, eager to receive his victim; the hard countenance of the *commis*, seated, with his watch in his hand, to minute down the fatal stroke; the features of the unfortunate king, "*Pallens morte futurâ*," all possess this merit in no small degree. While I was looking through the museum, three Oneida Indians, the first I had seen, came to the keeper to borrow some articles of Indian dress and armoury to exhibit that evening at the theatre. They wore pretty nearly the European dress, excepting a kind of cloak folded over one shoulder, and a ribbon round their hats. The spokesman of the three, a very handsome young man, was, I was told, son to the principal chief. I saw him on the stage in the evening, beating a kind of drum, and accompanying the war-dance of his companions with a low monotonous song. It seemed a melancholy sight: the sons of the once free masters of the soil exhibiting themselves to the scornful mirth of those who had spoiled them of their inheritance.

To be robbed, corrupted, and degraded is the invariable lot of the Indian who comes in contact with the civilization of Europe. Nobler he,

> "Who forward rushes with indignant grief,
> "Where never foot has trod the fallen leaf."

CHAPTER VII.

THE FALLS OF THE MOHAWK.

WHATEVER a country affords worth seeing, take the first opportunity to see it. This simple rule would prevent many such posthumous lamentations, and lame "buts," as, "I am very sorry I omitted going, *but* I thought I should have returned by the same road." "I fully intended seeing it, *but* the weather was so unfavourable, that I deferred it 'til" —when?

> "Some period, no where to be found
> "In all the hoary register of time."

As nothing sounds so ill to one's self or others, I determined to visit the falls of the Mohawk, the same day I arrived at Albany; though I was told we should pass within a few yards of them on the morrow, which did not turn out to be the case. The Cohoz*, or falls of the Mohawk, are little more than half a mile from the junction of the two rivers: their extreme breadth is about three hundred toises, which is much more than the mean breadth of the stream, both above and below them, being increased by the manner in which the ledge of rocks forms an obtuse angle, in the direction of the current.† Their height

* Le nom de Cohoz me paroit un mot imitatif conservé des Sauvages, et par un cas singulier, je l'ai retrouvé dans le pays de Liège, appliqué à une petite cascade, à trois lieues de Spa."—Volney, p. 125.

† "The bed of the falls is of serpentine stone."—Volney, Tableau, 1. i. 51. He observes, that the bed of the Mohawk seems to separate the region of freestone from that of granite.

does not, perhaps, exceed 50 feet.* The banks above them are nearly on a level with the water, but are increased below by the depth of the falls. In summer, the overflow is said to be scanty, and even at this season a cap of snow rested on the most prominent cliff of the angle, from beneath which the stream filtered in silver veins. The whole effect of these falls, the broadest, I believe, in the States, excepting Niagara, is diminished for want of the relief of a bold, darkly-shadowed back-ground. The air of wintry desolation, varied only by the sombre foliage of the pine and cedar, stretching their dark masses over beds of snow, took little from the rude force of a scene, the character of which is rather simply grand, than lovely or romantick. There is a very good point of view from a long covered bridge, which crosses the Mohawk near its mouth, and leads to the village of Waterford. The distance from Albany is about ten miles.

* Volney says, "some reckon it at 65 feet, others only 50." The Marquis de Chastellux makes it 75. He also visited it in winter, and observes, "The picture was rendered still more "terrible by the snow which covered the firs, the brilliancy "of which gave a black colour to the water, gliding gently "along, and a yellow tinge to that which was washing over the "cataract."

CHAPTER VIII.

ALBANY TO THE FRONTIER OF CANADA.

March 14th.	Troy,	6 miles.	
	Lansingburg,	3	
	Schatecoke,	3	
	Pittstown,	7	
	Cambridge,	13	
	Porter's Inn,	2	
	Robert's Inn,	6	
15th.	Salem,	8	
	Hebron,	8	
	Hopkin's Inn,	4	
	Granville,	5	
16th.	Whitehall, or Skeensborough,	14	Stage Waggon
	Shoreham, Larenburg's Inn,	25	
17th.	Chimney Point,	14	
	Basin Harbour,	12	
	M'Niel's Inn,	9	
	Burlington,	12	
	Plattsburg,	21	
	Chazy,	20	
	Inn,	7	
	Isle aux Noix,	12	Sleighs.
		211	

TROY is a little short of a mile in length, and bears every mark of growing opulence. There is a large barrow-formed mount, at the end of the town, on the road side, which, though evidently a natural rock, might represent the tomb of Ilus to this new Ilium, were Yankey imaginations disposed to run classically riot. The road runs pleasantly on the banks of the Hudson, which here form a long stripe of flat ground, evidently an alluvion, about a mile in breadth, beyond which the hills again rise, intersecting the country in

a N. W. direction. Betwixt Pittstown and Cambridge we crossed the Hoosick river, and continued our way through a wild and mountainous country, whose remoter heights were now fading in evening mists. From Pittstown we had quitted the course of the Hudson, and moving in a N. E. direction, were falling in with the various chains of hills which spring laterally from the great N. E. chain of the West Point mountains. Salem is beautifully embosomed amid these ramifications, which seem to divide the low country into a number of separate basins, each watered by its own sequestered stream. Masses of slaty rock are every where scattered through the country. Land, we were informed, was worth about 20*l.* per acre; a considerable sum, where it is so plentiful. The Americans, who are never deficient when improvement is in view, have introduced the use of gypsum, as the most transportable, as well as the most profitable, manure. A farmer here, with whom, as is usual in the States, we fell into conversation, informed us that the average quantity employed was three pecks per acre, united with the seed: that it was of great service to clover; and well employed on all sandy or gravelly soils, adding a curious remark, if correct, that it produces no effect on land within thirty miles of the sea.*

Granville is situated in one of these mountain basins, and is but a few miles from the foot of the Green and Bald mountains, which form the continuation of the great chain. The streams in this neighbourhood no longer fall into the Hudson, but make a northerly course to Lake Champlain. At Granville we quitted the main north road, to go to Whitehall, and take the benefit of sleighs across the lake. I observed a

* This remark I have heard confirmed by well informed persons in the States. The most common theory of the use of gypsum seems to be its disposition to attract moisture, thus remedying the defects of dry warm soils.

quantity of red clay-slate in this neighbourhood, resembling the cliffs of the St. Lawrence near Quebec. The aspect of the country remained much the same, only growing more wild and wintry as we proceeded. The snow which had hitherto been partial, now began to impede the progress of our waggon, which had been moving at the rate of three and a half miles per hour. We were frequently obliged to alight, and walk down steep hills, thickly encrusted with ice and snow. A fine bear had preceded us, as we discovered by his large round foot prints, but he was not complaisant enough to show himself from some craggy knoll, and welcome us to his solitude. A small ground squirrel was the only specimen of bird or beast we encountered. The valley closes in as you approach Whitehall, until its lofty barriers barely leave space sufficient for the site of the village, and the course of a small river, called Wood-creek, which rushes into the lake, with a small cascade; its right bank rises perpendicularly several hundred feet: strata of dark grey lime-stone, disposed at regular parallels, exhibit an appearance of masonry so perfect as to require a second glance to convince one a wall is not built up from the bed of the stream. The heights on the opposite side of the valley are equally bold, and marked with the same character; their summits are every where darkened with forests of oak, pine, and cedar; large detached masses of granite are scattered generally through the valley, and among the houses of the village, which like several others on our road, very much resembled a large timber-yard, from the quantity of wood cutting up and scattered about for purposes of building: indeed it is impossible to travel through the States without taking part with the unfortunate trees, who, unable like their persecuted fellows of the soil, the Indians, to make good a retreat, are exposed to every form and species of destruction Yankee convenience or dexterity can invent; felling, burning, rooting up, tearing down, lopping, and chop-

ping, are all employed with most unrelenting severity. We passed through many forests whose leafless trunks, blackened with fire, rose above the underwood, like lonely columns, while their flat-wreathed roots lay scattered about, not unlike the capitals of Egyptian architecture. I believe some traveller has observed that there are no large trees in America, an observation not very wide of the truth, to judge from what may be seen from the high road; a few steps however into any of the woods, shew that they have abounded in very fine timber, numerous remains of which are every where left standing; but the extreme prodigality with which the finest timber trees have been employed, being often piled together to make fences, and so left to rot, has begun to produce a comparative scarcity, especially near large towns, which has considerably increased the value of the property of woodland.

At Whitehall we embarked in sleighs on Lake Champlain; the afternoon was bright and mild, and well disposed us to enjoy the pleasing change from our snailpaced waggon to the smooth rapidity of a sleigh, gliding at the rate of nine miles an hour. The first object our driver was happy to point out to us, was several of our own flotilla, anchored near the town, sad "trophies of the fight." The head of the lake called "the Narrows," does not exceed the breadth of a small river; the sides rise in lofty cliffs, whose grey strata sometimes assume the regular direction of the mason's level, sometimes form an angle more or less acute with the horizon, and sometimes, particularly in projecting points, seem almost vertical to it. Our driver pointed out a curious fissure in the left bank, called the "devil's pulpit;" it is in about the centre of the cliff, and seems broken with great regularity, much in this figure .

Tyconderoga point stands out in an attitude of defiance to those who ascend the lake, but its martial terrors are now extinguished, or marked only by the

crumbling remains of field works, and the ruin of an old fortified barrack. Lake George unites with Lake Champlain, at the foot of this mountain point, by a narrow stream, on the right bank of which, rises Mount Defiance, and on the opposite side of Lake Champlain, Mount Independence; names which bespeak their military fame in days of old, but now, like retired country gentlemen, they are content to raise oak and pine woods, instead of frowning batteries. At Shoreham, nearly opposite to Crown Point, we found good accommodation for the night, at Mr. Larenburg's tavern, and set off the next morning before breakfast; but we had soon cause to repent of thus committing ourselves fasting to the mercy of the elements. The lake now began to widen, and the shores to sink in the same proportion; the keen blasts of the north, sweeping over its frozen expanse, pierced us with needles of ice; the thermometer was 22° below zero; buffalo hides, bear skins, caps, shawls and handkerchiefs were vainly employed against a degree of cold so much beyond our habits. Our guide, alone of the party, his chin and eye-lashes gemmed and powdered with the drifting snow, boldly set his face and his horses in the teeth of the storm. Sometimes a crack in the ice would compel us to wait, while he went forward to explore it with his axe, (without which, the American sleigh-drivers seldom travel,) when, having ascertained its breadth, and the foothold on either side, he would drive his horses at speed, and clear the fissure, with its snow ridge, at a flying leap; a sensation we found agreeable enough, but not so agreeable as a good inn and dinner at Burlington. Burlington is a beautiful little town, rising from the edge of the lake; the principal buildings are disposed in a neat square; on a hill above the town stands the college, a plain brick building, the greater part of which is unoccupied, and seemingly unfinished.

We crossed the next morning to Plattsburgh, curious to view the theatre of our misfortunes; it is a flourishing little town, situated principally on the left Bank of the Saranac, a little river, which, falling into the lake, makes, with an adjacent island, and Cumberland Point, a convenient bay, across which the American flotilla lay anchored, to receive our attack; the untoward issue of which, decided the retreat of Sir George Prevost's army. We were particular in our inquiries into the position of the flotilla, that we might ascertain whether, as has been asserted, they were within cannon range from the shore; this we found at no time to have been the case, so that no movement on our part by land, could have influenced the event of the naval action. The fortifications are on the right bank of the Saranac; the American commandant obligingly conducted us through them; they consist of two square forts palisadoed, but with neither out-works, nor covered way. This officer informed us, that they had not even their gates hung when our army first arrived before them. Our retreat surprised them as much as it did many of our own people; it must however be observed, that though little or no doubt existed, that the works if attacked, would have been carried, the object of the expedition fell to the ground with the loss of the flotilla, by means of which alone, the transport of stores and provisions could have been secured. The fight must have been for honour only, and Sir George Prevost certainly took the boldest part when he declined it.

"Travelling, after all," says Madame de Stael, "is but a melancholy pleasure;" an observation doubly true, if applied to travelling over an uniform surface of ice, in very cold weather. Curiosity freezes under such circumstances, and the only prospect which rouses attention is the inn, or village, which is to afford the comforts of food and fire. I observed, however, that the shores of the lake gradually sunk down

to the level of the water, while the mountain ridges fell off to the right and left, leaving a broad and nearly level expanse of wood and water. Traces of cultivation diminished as we approached the frontier; a few solitary houses, commonly the resort of smugglers, were scattered on the shore, embosomed in forests of a most uninviting aspect. Betwixt Champlain and Isle aux Noix, travellers take leave of America, and enter on the Canadian territory. A few words then on the American character, ere I and they part.

CHARACTER OF THE AMERICANS.

It is a bold enterprise, to describe the habits, manners, and dispositions of a nation, after a fifteen days' journey through it; but here I am encouraged by the example of all my travelling contemporaries of both hemispheres, whose courage in this respect, has gained them the proverbial reputation of a race of men, who are never dastardly enough to shrink from the task, on account of mere want of information, but who are always ready to depicture both the exteriour and interiour of the inhabitants they happen to catch a glimpse of through the windows of their travelling carriage, with as much accuracy,

> "As though they had stood by
> "And seen them made.———

A great help in these cases is the labour of our predecessors, by whose means their followers are enabled to transmit a lie, unpolluted, to posterity. Now as there can be little doubt that such benevolent aid, has been ever intended rather for the poor than the rich, I shall begin by begging the helping hand of my friend Knickerbocker, over an explanation of the term Yankie, generally applied to the New England

ers, both by us and themselves. The first settlers of New England, were the Puritans, and other sectaries, who, persecuted and buffeted at home, "embarked for the wilderness of America, where they might enjoy unmolested the inestimable luxury of talking. No sooner did they land upon this loquacious soil, than as if they had caught the disease from the climate, they all lifted up their voices at once, and for the space of one whole year did keep up such a joyful clamour, that we are told, they frightened every bird and beast out of the neighbourhood, and so completely dumb-founded certain fish, which abound on their coast, that they have been called 'dumb-fish' ever since. The simple aborigines of the land for a while contemplated these strange folk in utter astonishment, but discovering that they wielded harmless, though noisy weapons, and were a lively, ingenious, good-humoured race of men, they became very friendly and sociable, and gave them the name of Yankies, which, in the Mais-Tchsuaeg (or Massachusett) language signifies 'silent men;' a waggish appellation since shortened into the familiar epithet of Yankies, which they retain unto the present day."—I. p. 178. Nor have they retained a barren epithet, but are still eminent for the facility with which they engage in conversation. One table for meals is stage-coach fare even in England: one bed-room, containing a dozen beds may be tolerated in a country new to the luxuries of travelling; but the spirit of sociability is a little excessive, when, as I have been told, it enjoins the traveller to halve his bed with whoever arrives too late to procure one for himself. I had often occasion to observe, the Americans have no idea of a private chit-chat betwixt two persons. I have several times fancied myself engaged tête-à-tête, when on raising my eyes, I have found a little circle formed round us, fully prepared with reply, rejoinder, or observation, as opportunity might occur: let me, however, add without any intention of rudeness: im-

pertinence I never met with, though they have sometimes rather a startling plainness in their manner of conveying their sentiments. On our arrival at Poughkeepsie, a plain man stepped from the croud round the inn-door, and addressing himself to the gentleman I was accompanying, (who had been appointed to the administration of Lower Canada,) wished him joy of his arrival, congratulated him on the peace between the two nations, and concluded by hoping he would not follow the example of his predecessor; a kind of schooling, to which I believe their own rulers are no strangers. In fact, the art of government, that tremendous state engine, is no mystery here; both men and measures are canvassed with equal freedom; and, sitting aside the bias of party feeling, with a degree of good sense and information, most probably unique in the mass of any nation on earth. The late war was spoken of with equal detestation by all parties; and so far did they seem from assuming any credit for engaging in it, that each party most studiously shifted the odium to the other. I could perceive none of that rancour against the English, which some Englishman seem so anxious to discover.* Individually I met with all civility from all parties; I observe, indeed, among some of the shop-keepers of New York, an indifference towards their customers, more resembling the listlessness of the Portuguese, than the polite alacrity of a London tradesman; but I have no reason to think we came in for a greater share of it from being Englishmen: the want of competition produces the same effect, both on the tradesman and inn-keeper, to whom it gives an air of independence, very commonly attributed to much profounder causes.

* It is a curious circumstance that, while we accuse them of favouring the French, French writers invariably attack them for their rooted, and, as they deem it, blind partiality to the English. Vide Volney, Beaujour, &c.

The inn-keepers of America, are, in most villages, what we vulgarly call, "topping men," field officers of militia, with good farms attached to their taverns, so that they are apt to think, what, perhaps in a newly settled country, is not very wide of the truth, that travellers rather receive, than confer a favour by being accommodated at their houses. They always gave us plentiful fare, particularly at breakfast, where veal-cutlets, sweetmeats, cheese, eggs, and ham, were most liberally set before us. Dinner is little more than a repetition of breakfast, with spirits instead of coffee. I never heard wine called for; the common drink is a small cyder; rum, whiskey, and brandy, are placed on the table, and the use of them left to the discretion of the company, who seem rarely to abuse their privilege. Tea is a meal of the same solid construction with breakfast, answering also for supper. The daughters of the host officiate at tea and breakfast, and generally wait at dinner. Their behaviour is reserved in the extreme, but it enables them to serve as domesticks, without losing their rank of equality with those on whom they attend. To judge from the books I frequently found lying about, they are well educated; the landlord of an inn at Waterford was very particular in inquiring of a gentleman who was with me, for the most accomplished schoolmistress of New York, with whom to place his daughter; the same man, after shrewdly commenting on the conduct of some of the first political characters of the country, summed up his eulogium on his favourite, by saying, "I make no objection to his lying and intrigues, for all politicians will do the same." I cannot pretend to say how far this is practically true in America, but I have reason to think the sentiment at least too general. The spirit of speculation, in all professions of life, seems to go far towards weakening the finer feelings of political honour and integrity. The indolent habits of the

Spaniard are thought to be favourable to the fidelity and honour observable in all his transactions; the commercial activity of the Chinese degenerates into knavish trickery. It is for the Americans to consider, to which extreme they are verging, and to remember above all, that the vital spirit of republicanism is virtue—but this is going deeper than I have any pretension to do at present; I have seen but a little portion of the mere surface.

An English traveller is frequently surprised to find the highest magistrates and officers of the nation travelling by the same conveyances, sitting down at the same table, and joining in conversation with the meanest of the people; borrowing from his own prejudices of rank, he is apt to fancy all the great world amusing themselves in masquerade. I entered, casually, into conversation, on board the steam-boat, with a man whose appearance seemed to denote something betwixt the shop-keeper and farmer, though his conversation marked him superior to both. He was the high sheriff of a county. I remember, among other observations, his remarks on the unhappy condition of the greater part of emigrants into America, particularly the poorer Irish, who are induced by flattering representations to strain every effort to procure a passage to New York, or some sea-port town, where they are left in total ignorance, both of the country most fit to settle in, and of the means of getting to it, until their little stock is either wasted by delay, or plundered by sharpers, and themselves reduced to beggary, or the lowest drudgery of society.* It is very rare to find a native American begging, or indeed to find any condition resembling beggary throughout the States, except in the sea-port towns, in which these neglected wanderers are collected.

* I have heard Americans complain, that almost all their crimes and misdemeanours are committed by persons of this description.

To enlightened industry, this virgin continent offers undiminished resources; nor where success is in prospect will the American turn his foot aside, however rugged the path to it; with his axe on his shoulder, his family and stock in a light waggon, he plunges into forests, which have never heard the woodman's stroke, clears a space sufficient for his dwelling, and first year's consumption, and gradually converts the lonely wilderness into a flourishing farm. This almost national genius has been ably delineated by Talleyrand, Volney, and other writers, whose observations all concur on this point of the American character. A humorous, but faithful account of the American *vis migratoria*, is given by Knickerbocker, l. c. vii. "The most prominent of these habits is a certain rambling propensity, with which, like the sons of Ishmael, they seem to have been gifted by heaven, and which continually goads them on, to shift their residence from place to place, so that a Yankee farmer is in a constant state of migration; tarrying occasionally here and there, clearing lands for other people to enjoy, building houses for others to inhabit, and in a manner, may be considered the wandering Arab of America. His first thought on coming to the years of manhood, is to settle himself in the world, which means nothing more or less, than to begin his rambles; to this end, he takes unto himself for a wife, some dashing country heiress, that is to say, a buxom rosy-cheeked wench, passing rich in red ribbands, glass beads, and mock tortoise-shell combs, with a white gown and Morocco shoes, for Sunday, and deeply skilled in the mystery of making apple sweetmeats, long-sauce, and pumpkin pie. Having thus provided himself, like a true pedlar, with a heavy knapsack, wherewith to regale his shoulders through the journey of life, he literally sets out on the peregrination. His whole family, household furniture and farming utensils are hoisted into a covered cart;

his own and his wife's wardrobe packed up in a firkin;* which done, he shoulders his axe, takes staff in hand, whistles 'Yankee doodle,' and trudges off to the woods, as confident of the protection of Providence, and relying as cheerfully upon his own resources, as did ever a patriarch of yore, when he journeyed into a strange country of the Gentiles. Having buried himself in the wilderness, he builds himself a log-hut, clears away a corn-field and potatoe patch; and Providence smiling upon his labours, is soon surrounded by a snug farm, and some half-a-score of flaxen headed urchins, who by their size, seem to have sprung all at once out of the earth, like a crop of toad-stools."

The pale of civilized life widens daily, and plainly intimates to the indignant and retiring Indian, that it will finally know no limit but the Pacifick. Cultivators have begun to discover the superiority of the soil, westward of the Alleghany Ridges: the tide of emigration is accordingly turned to the neighbourhood of the Ohio. Sixteen thousand waggons, I was told, were counted last year passing the toll bridge of Cayuga. Settlements are creeping along the Missouri, and the mouth of the Columbia is already designated to connect the Asiatick with the European commerce of the States. Such is the growth, and such the projects of this transatlantick republick, great in extent of territory, in an active and well-informed population; but above all, in a free government, which not only leaves individual talent unfettered, but calls it into life by all the incitements of ambition most grateful to the human mind.

CHAPTER IX.

CANADA.

March 19th,	Isle aux Noix.	
	St. John's . .	12 miles.
	La Prairie . .	18
	Montreal . .	9
	Albany to Montreal	250
	The direct road is reckoned at	171
22d.	Berthier,	
	Riviere du Loup.	
23d.	Trois Rivieres .	90
	St. Anne,	
24th.	Cap Santé,	
	St. Augustine,	
25th.	Quebec, . .	90 sleighs.
		180
	New York to Albany,	160
	Albany to Montreal,	250
		590 miles.

Total expense for three persons, four servants, and one waggon load of baggage, including six days' living at New York, 755 dollars=188*l.* 15*s.*

NOTHING could be more Siberian than the aspect of the Canadian frontier: a narrow road, choaked with snow, led through a wood, in which, patches were occasionally cleared, on either side, to admit the construction of a few log-huts, round which a brood of ragged children, a starved pig, and a few half-broken rustick implements, formed an accompaniment more suited to an Irish landscape than to the thriving scenes we had just quitted. The Canadian peasant is still the same unsophisticated animal whom we may

suppose to have been imported by Jacques Cartier. The sharp, unchangeable lineaments of the French countenance, set off with a blue or red night-cap, over which is drawn the hood of a grey capote, fashioned like a monk's cowl, a red worsted girdle, hair tied in a greasy leathern queue, brown mocassins of undressed hide, and a short pipe in his mouth, give undeniable testimony of the presence of Jean Baptiste. His horse seems to have been equally solicitous to shame neither his progenitors nor his owner, by any mixture with a foreign race, but exhibits the same relationship to the horses, as his rider to the subjects of Louis XIII. Now, too, the frequent cross by the road side, thick-studded with all the implements of crucifixional torture, begins to indicate a catholick country: distorted virgins and ghastly saints decorate each inn room, while the light spires of the parish church, covered with plates of tin, glitter across the snowy plain.

At La Prairie we crossed the ice to Montreal, whose isolated mountain forms a conspicuous object at the distance of some leagues. From thence to Quebec the road follows the course of the St. Lawrence, whose banks present a succession of villages, many of them delightfully situated; but all form and feature were absorbed in the snowy deluge, which now deepened every league; add to which, the sleigh track, by frequently running on the bed of the river, placed us below prospect of every kind. We found the inns neat, and the people attentive; French politesse began to be contrasted with American bluntness. It is curious to observe that this characteristick of the Americans, which so frequently offends the polished feelings of English travellers, is exactly what was formerly objected by the French to ourselves. The "rudesse" of the English character was long a standing jest with our refined neighbours; but we have now, it seems, so far shaken off this odious remnant of uncourtly habits, as to regard it with true French horrour in our transatlantick cousins.

It was Sunday when we arrived at St. Anne's; mass was just finished, and above an hundred sleighs were rapidly dispersing themselves up the neighbouring heights, and across the bed of the river, to the adjacent villages. The common country sleigh is a clumsy, box-shaped machine, raised at both ends; perhaps not greatly unlike the old heroick car. It holds two persons, with the driver, who stands before them. One horse is commonly sufficient, but two are used in posting, when the leader is attached by cords, tandem-wise, and left to use his own discretion, without the restraint of rein, or impulse of whip. Should, however, the latter stimulus become indispensable, the driver jumps from the sleigh, runs forward, applies his pack-thread lash, and regains his seat without any hazard from extraordinary increase of impetus. The runners of these sleighs are formed of two slips of wood, so low that the shafts collect the snow into a succession of wavy hillocks, properly christened "cahots," for they almost dislocate your limbs five thousand times in a day's journey. An attempt was once made to correct this evil, by prohibiting all *low runners*, as they are called, from coming within a certain distance of Quebec; meaning, thereby, to force the country people into the use of high runners, in the American fashion. Jean Baptiste, however, sturdily and effectually resisted this heretical innovation, by halting with his produce without the limits, and thus compelling the towns-people to come to him to make their purchases. The markets both of Montreal and Quebec exhibit several hundred market sleighs daily. They differ from the pleasure, or travelling sleigh, in having no sides; that is, they consist merely of a plank bottom, with a kind of railing. Hay and wood seem the staple commodities at this season, both of which are immoderately dear, especially at Quebec; even through the States, the common charge for one horse's hay for a night, was a dollar. Provisions are brought to market fro-

zen, in which state they are preserved during winter; cod fish is brought from Boston, a land carriage of 500 miles, and then sells at a reasonable rate, the American commonly speculating on a cargo of smuggled goods back, to make up his profit; a kind of trade extremely brisk betwixt the frontier and Montreal.

As we approached Quebec, snow lay to the depth of six feet; from the heights of Abram, the eye rested upon what seemed an immense lake of milk; all smaller irregularities of ground, fences, boundaries, and copse woods, had disappeared; the tops of villages and scattered farm houses, with here and there dark lines of pine-wood, and occasionally the mast of some ice-locked schooner, marking the bed of the Charles river, were the only objects peering above it. A range of mountains, sweeping round from West to North, until it meets the St. Lawrence, bounds the horizon; no herald of Spring had yet approached this dreary outpost of civilization; we had observed a few blue thrushes in the neighbourhood of Albany, but none had yet reached Canada; two only of the feathered tribe brave the winter of this inclement region; the cosmopolite crow, and the snow bird,* a small white bird, reported to feed upon snow, because it is not very clear what else it can find.

It would be acting unfairly to Quebec, to describe it as I found it on my arrival, choaked with ice and snow, which one day flooded the streets with a profusion of dirty kennels, and the next, cased them with a sheet of glass. Cloth or carpet boots; galashes, with spikes to their heels, iron pointed walking-sticks, are the defensive weapons perpetually in employ on these occasions. The direction of the streets too, which are most of them built up a precipice, greatly facilitates any inclination one may entertain for tumbling, or neck-breaking.

* Emberiza hyemalis.

CHAPTER X.

THE FALLS OF MONTMORENCI.

The falls of Montmorenci are formed by a little river of that name, near its junction with the St. Lawrence, about five miles north of Quebec. They have a peculiar interest in winter, from the immense cone of ice, formed at their foot, which was unimpaired when I visited them, in the second week of April. After winding up a short but steep ascent, the road crosses a wooden bridge, beneath which the Montmorenci rushes betwixt its dark grey rocks, and precipitates itself in a broken torrent down a wooded glen on the right; it is not until you have wound round the edge of this glen, which is done by quitting the road at the bridge-foot, that you obtain a view of the falls; nor was their effect lessened by this approach; a partial thaw, succeeded by a frost, had spread a silvery brightness over the waste of snow. Every twig and branch of the surrounding pine-trees, every waving shrub and briar was encased in chrystal, and glittering to the sun beams, like the diamond forest of some northern elf-land. You are now on the edge of a precipice, to which the fall itself, a perpendicular of 220 feet, seems diminutive; it is not until you descend and approach its foot, that the whole majesty of the scene becomes apparent; the breadth of the torrent is about fifty feet. The waters, from their prodigious descent, seem snowy-white with foam, and enveloped in a light drapery of gauzy mist. The cone appears about 100 feet in height; mathematically regular in shape, with

its base extending nearly all across the stream: its sides are not so steep but that ladies have ascended to the top of it; the interiour is hollow. I regret to add, that a mill is constructing on this river, which will, by diverting the stream, destroy this imperial sport of nature; or at least reduce it to the degradation of submitting to be played off at the miller's discretion, like a Versailles fountain.

CHAPTER XI.

QUEBEC AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

TOWARDS the end of April, the town's people begin, according to a law of the Province, to break up the ice and snow from before their doors; and by the first week in May, the streets are tolerably cleared. The intermediate state, as may be supposed, is a perfect chaos, through which the stumbling pedestrian, like the arch-fiend of old,

> "pursues his way,
> "And swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps."

Meanwhile the landscape begins to exchange its snowy mantle for a russet brown. A few wild fowl and woodcocks, with some small birds, cautiously make their appearance; the sheltered bottoms of the pine woods throw out the earliest flowers; the St. Lawrence and Charles rivers become gradually disburthened of ice, and enlivened by the gliding sail; still, however, the foot of Spring seems lingering; the mists, exhaled by the warmth of the sun, frequently encounter the keen north-west, and are again precipitated in heavy snow-showers; snow still blocks up the roads, and fills the dells and ditches, sheltered from the influence of the sun; thus preserving the gloomy aspect of winter, through the month of May.

The town, or rather city, of Quebec, is built on the northern extremity of a narrow strip of high land, which follows the course of the St. Lawrence for several miles, to its confluence with the Charles. The basis of this height is a dark slate-rock, of which most

of the buildings in the town are constructed. Cape Diamond terminates the promontory, with a bold precipice towards the St. Lawrence, to which, it is nearly perpendicular, at the height of 320 feet. It derives its name from the chrystals of quartz found in it, which are so abundant, that after a shower the ground glitters with them. The lower town is built round the foot of these heights, without the fortifications, which, with the upper town, occupy their crest, in bleak pre-eminence; the former, snug and dirty, is the abode of thriving commerce, and of most of the lower classes employed about the navy. The latter, cold and lofty, is the seat of Government, and principal residence of the military; and claims, in consequence, that kind of superiority which some heads have been said to assert over the inglorious belly: to speak the truth, neither has much to boast on the score, either of beauty, or convenience.

Among the principal buildings, the Government house, or Castle of St. Louis, may take precedence, being a thin blue building, which seems quivering, like a theatrical side scene, on the verge of the precipice, towards the St. Lawrence: its front resembles that of a respectable gentleman's house in England: the interior contains comfortable family apartments. For occasions of publick festivity there is another building on the opposite side of the court-yard, much resembling a decayed gaol. The furniture is inherited, and paid for, by each successive governour. The grand entrance to the Chateau is flanked on one side by this grim mouldering pile, and on the other by the stables, with their appropriate dung-hills. There is a small garden on the bank of the river, commanding, as does the Chateau itself, an interesting view of the opposite shores of the St. Lawrence. These rise boldly precipitous, clothed with pine and cedar groves, and studded with white villages, and detached farms; beyond which the eye reposes on successive chains of wooded mountains, fading blue

in the distant horizon; meanwhile, the river below is spreading broadly towards the north, until it meets and divides round the Isle of Orleans.

In front of the Chateau is an open space of ground, with great capabilities of being converted into a handsome square; but at this season, a formidable barrier of bog-land, intersected with rivulets of snow-water, is all that it presents to the bewildered pedestrian, who endeavours vainly to steer for the castle gate. On one side of it stands the Protestant cathedral church, an unfinished building, much more than large enough for the congregation usually assembled in it. In style and arrangement it resembles a London parochial church, and has nothing about it reproachable with earthly beauty. There is a good organ, but mute for want of an organist; and as there is no choir, the heavy flatness of the service amply secures the English church from all danger of being crowded with the overflowings of its neighbour, the Catholick cathedral, in which are still displayed, with no inconsiderable degree of splendour, the enticing ceremonies of the Romish worship. I was present at the service on Easter Sunday: a train of not less than fifty stoled priests and choristers surrounded the tapered altar: the bishop officiated in *plenis pontificalibus*, nor lacked the mitre "precious and auro-phrygiate," while the pealing organ, incense rolling from silver censers, and kneeling crowds, thronging the triple aisles, presented a spectacle, on which few are rigid enough, either in belief or unbelief, to look with absolute indifference. A lofty pile of gingerbread cakes, ornamented with tinsel, was carried to the bishop to receive his blessing, and a sprinkling of holy water, after which they were distributed among the people, who received them with most devout eagerness. These cakes I understood to be the pious offering of some devotee, more rich than wise, who certainly adopted a somewhat ludicrous expedient

"To bribe the rage of ill-requited Heaven,"

with gingerbread.

In Catholick countries there are few publick buildings, either for use or ornament, but are in some way connected with religion, and most frequently with charity. There are several charitable Catholick institutions in Quebec: the principal of these is the "Hotel Dieu," founded in 1637, by the Duchess D'Aiguillon, (sister to Cardinal Richelieu,) for the poor sick. The establishment consists of a superiour and thirty-six nuns. The "General Hospital" is a similar institution, consisting of a superiour and forty-three nuns, founded by St. Vallier, bishop of Quebec, in 1693, for "Poor Sick and Mendicants." It stands about a mile from the town, in a pleasant meadow watered by the Charles. The style of building is simple, and well suited to the purposes of the establishment, consisting only of "such plain roofs as piety could raise." The present superiour is a lady of Irish extraction, her age apparently bordering on thirty. In this conventual seclusion, (devoted to what might well seem to the mind of a delicate female, the most disgusting duties of humanity,) she exhibits that easy elegance, and softened cheerfulness of manner, so often affected, and rarely attained by the many votaries, who dress their looks and carriage in "the glass of fashion." She conducted us, with the greatest politeness, through every part of the building, which, as well as the "Hotel Dieu," in point of order, neatness, and arrangement, seems singularly adapted to the comfort and recovery of the unfortunate beings, to whose reception they are consecrated. Their funds I understood to be small, and managed with strict economy. They receive a small sum annually from Government* in addition to the revenue arising from their domain-lands. There is

* In consideration of which, soldiers are received as patients.

no distinction in the admission of Catholick or Protestant: the hand of charity has spread a couch for each in his infirmities. Both houses have a small pharmacopœia in charge of a sister instructed in medicine. The several duties of tending the sick by night, cooking, &c. are distributed by rotation. Employment is thus equally secured to all, and the first evil of cankering thought effectually prevented. Good humour and contented cheerfulness seem to be no strangers to these "veiled votaries; seem! nay, perhaps are; for without ascribing any miraculous effect to the devotion of a cloister, it is no unreasonable supposition, that in an establishment of this kind, the duties and occupations of which prevent seclusion from stagnating into apathy, or thought from fretting itself into peevishness, a greater degree of tranquillity, (and this is happiness,) may possibly be obtained, than commonly falls to the lot of those who drudge through the ordinary callings, or weary themselves with the common enjoyments of society. Grave men have doubted whether the purposes of these institutions might not be better answered by our common hospital establishments, and have even indulged themselves in a sneer, at the idea of young men being attended in sickness by nuns! On the question generally, it may be observed, that few (who have any knowledge of the system of common hospitals) can be at a loss to appreciate the difference betwixt the tender solicitude with which charity smooths, for conscience sake, the bed of suffering, and the heartless, grudging attendance which hospital nurses inflict upon their victims. If the action of the mind produce a sensible effect on the frame, particularly in sickness, this is no immaterial circumstance, in a medical point of view. Even when the hour of human aid is past, it is, perhaps, still something, that the last earthly object should be a face of sympathy, and the last duties of humanity be paid with a semblance of affection. For those who dedicate themselves to this ministry,

some apology may be urged to such as admit motive as, at least an extenuating circumstance in the consideration of errour. The moral criticks, perhaps, who are foremost to condemn their practice as superstitious, revolt less from the supposition, than from the self-sacrifice it requires. Let the lash of satire fall mercilesly on mere bigots, wherever they are found; but against the spirit, which, abjuring the pleasures, devotes itself to the most painful duties of life, what argument can be directed, which may not be left for its refutation to the prayers and blessings of the poor? The most objectionable part of the institution seems to be the committing of insane persons, of both sexes, to the charge of females: the answer is, that there is no other asylum for them; the blame therefore attaches to the police of the country; for it is evident, that women are very inadequate to the charge of such patients as require coercive treatment, particularly men.*

The Ursuline Convent, founded by Madame de la Peltrie, in 1639, for the education of female children, stands within the city. It has, both in its interior decoration, and the dress of its inhabitants, a greater appearance of wealth than the "General Hospital," and "Hotel Dieu." Among the ornaments of the chapel, we were particularly directed to the skull and bones of a missionary who had been murdered by the savages, for attempting their conversion: it is perhaps doubtful, considering the general indifference of the Indians on matters of religious controversy, whether this was the real and sole offence by which he won the crown of martyrdom. These nuns have generally about 200 little girls under their care, but I was sorry to observe their education bought with their health; not one of them but had a pallid sickly appearance, arising probably from

* We saw one patient, who would never suffer himself to be cloathed.

much confinement, during a long winter, in an atmosphere highly heated with stoves, joined to the salt, unwholesome diet, generally used by the Canadians. I ought not to omit, for the honour of these ladies' charity, that they keep a town bull.

The seminary is a collegiate institution, for the gratuitous instruction of the Catholic youth of Canada. The number of scholars is commonly about 200. The expenses of professors, teaching, &c. are defrayed by the revenue arising from the Seignioral domains, belonging to the establishment. The course of studies here qualifies for ordination. There is a small museum, or "cabinet de physique," which seems in a growing condition; it contains, besides natural curiosities, electrical apparatus, telescopes and other instruments of science. The library is somewhat too theological; there is a small hell attached to it, in which I perceived our common Prayer Books, Testaments, &c. in company with many divines, as well Catholic as Protestant, Bayle, and a few travellers and philosophers, but the greater part theologians. The old palace, besides the chambers for the council, and House of Assembly, contains a good publick library; the nature of the collection, may be defined generally, as the reverse of that of the seminary library. There is a good assortment of historical works, of a standard quality, and of travels; but no classicks, probably because none of the inhabitants affect to read them. A library is also on the eve of being established, by the officers of the staff and garrison; but the society of Quebec is generally on too limited a scale, and too exclusively military or commercial, to foster any considerable spirit of literature or science. An attempt was made during Sir G. Prevost's administration, to establish a society on the plan of the Royal Institution, but it fell to the ground, for want of a sufficiency of efficient members, eleven being the supposed necessary quantum to begin with; nor is this seeming scarcity surprising,

when we consider, that the short Canadian summer is appropriated to business, and that during the tedious winter, the men are never tired of dinners, nor the ladies of dancing.

There are some peculiar and interesting features in the neighbourhood of Quebec. The lofty banks of the St. Lawrence, from Cape Diamond to Cape Rouge, are composed of clay-slate, generally of a dark colour, sometimes of a dull red, whence the name of "Cap Rouge." The bed of the river is of the same crumbling stone; and being triturated by time and the elements, gives its sands a close resemblance, both in colour and consistency, to smith's filings. Bare however, as they are of soil, these perpendicular cliffs are every where cloathed with a luxuriant verdure, of shrubs and trees, whose roots, wreathing themselves round barren rocks, seem to woo from the charity of the heavens, the nutriment denied them by a niggard parent.

About two miles above Quebec, a break in the magnificent line of cliffs forms the little recess, called Wolfe's Cove; a steep path-way leads up the heights to the plains of Abram; traces of field-works are still visible on the turf, and the stone is pointed out on which the hero expired. The cove is at present appropriated to the reception of lumber, which comes down the river from the States and Upper Province, in rafts, which frequently cover the surface of half an acre; when the wind is favourable, they spread 10 or 12 square sails, at other times they are poled down; the men, who navigate them, build small wooden houses on them, and thus, transported with their families, poultry, and frequently cattle, from a complete floating village. A great proportion of the timber is brought from lake Champlain, and the trade is almost wholly in the hands of the Americans.

A second crescent-like recess, about a mile from Wolfe's Cove, conceals the little village of Sillori. Nothing can be more romantic than the seclusion of this charming spot. The river road to it turns round

the foot of gigantic cliffs, which seem interposed betwixt it and the world's turmoil. The heights which encircle it are deeply wooded to their summits, and retire sufficiently from the river to leave a pleasant meadow and hop-ground round the village, consisting of about half-a-dozen neat white houses, one of which is an inn. On the river's edge stands the ruin of an old religious house, built by French missionaries, for the purpose of preaching to the Huron tribes, who then inhabited this neighbourhood. There is now no trace of these missionaries, or of their labours, except in the little village of Loretto, which contains the only surviving relicks of the once powerful Huron nation*: so efficaciously have disease and gunpowder seconded the converting zeal of Europeans. Besides the road which winds under the cliffs, Sillori has two leading to Quebec through the woods. These woods cover the greater part of the country, betwixt the St. Foi road, and the river, offering all the luxury of shade and sylvan loveliness to the few disposed to accept it. I say, the few, for the fashionables of Quebec commonly prefer making a kind of Rotten Row of the Plains of Abram, round which they parade with the periodical uniformity of blind horses in a mill.

Lake Charles is generally talked of as one of the pleasantest spots round Quebec, and instances have been known of parties of pleasure reaching it. It is about three miles in length; and perhaps one at its greatest breadth. Towards the middle of it, two rocky points shoot out so as to form, properly speaking, two lakes, connected by a narrow channel. A scattered hamlet, taking its name from the lake, is seen with its meadows and tufted orchards along the right bank of the outward basin. Wooded heights rise on the opposite shore, and surround the whole of the interior lake, descending every where to the water's edge, the whole forming a scene of lovely loneliness, scarcely intruded on by the canoe of the

* About forty heads of families.

silent angler. There is more in the whole landscape to feel, than to talk about, so that it is little wonderful that an excursion to Lake Charles should be more frequently talked about, than made.

The Huron village of Loretto stands on the left bank of the Charles about four miles below the Lake, (eight from Quebec.) The river, immediately on passing the bridge, below the village, rushes down its broken bed of granite, with a descent of about seventy feet, and buries itself in the windings of the deeply-shadowed glen below. A part of the fall is diverted to turn a mill, which seems fearfully suspended above the foaming torrent. The village covers a plot of ground very much in the manner of an English barrack, and altogether the reverse of the straggling Canadian method; it is, in fact, the method of their ancestors. I found the children amusing themselves with little bows and arrows. The houses had generally an air of poverty and slovenliness: that, however, of their principal chief, whom I visited, was neat and comfortable. One of their old men gave me a long account of the manner in which the Jesuits had contrived to trick them out of their seignioral rights, and possession of the grant of land made them by the king of France, which consisted, originally, of four leagues, by one in breadth, from Sillori, north. Two leagues of this, which were taken from them by the French government, upon promise of an equivalent, they give up, he said, as lost; but as the property of the Jesuits is at present in the hands of commissioners appointed by our Government, they were in hopes of recovering the remainder, which it never could be proved that their ancestors either gave, sold, lent, or in any way alienated. Although the oldest among them retains no remembrance of the wandering life of their ancestors, it is still the life they covet; "for," said a young Huron, "*on s'ennuie dans le village, et on ne s'ennuie jamais dans les bois.*"

CHAPTER XII.

QUEBEC TO KAMOURASKA.

July 16th.	St. Thomas . .	36 Miles.
17th.	Riviere Ouelle . .	42
18th.	Kamouraska . .	12
		90 Miles

TO QUEBEC BY THE NORTH SHORE.

21st.	Malbay . . .	20 Ferry.
22d.	St. Paul's Bay . .	30
24th.	La Petite Riviere . .	12 Water.
25th.	St. Joahim . . .	18 do.
	Quebec . . .	30
		110
		90
		200

Opposite to Quebec is Point Levi, a commanding eminence on the right bank of St. Lawrence, whose breadth here is little above a mile. A party of Michmac Indians were encamped on the shore. They were the first Indians I had seen, in any thing like their original condition of life, and are almost the only ones to be seen about Quebec. Their encampment consisted of four tents, raised with pine poles, and covered with the bark of the white birch, which is used generally for this purpose, and for canoes, by all the tribes of the continent. Two women were gumming their canoe at the water's edge; three or four little half-naked "bronzed varl-

ets" were dabbling in the tide, who, on my coming up, began to articulate "how d'ye do," in Michmac English. A man in one of the tents was making small canoes for children's toys, and the rest were in that state of indolence, most accordant to their dispositions, when their circumstances will permit it. In dress and personal appearance they were too like gypsies to require more particular description, except that their cheek-bones, high, and set wide apart, rendered them the ugliest looking mortals I had ever seen. The Michmacs originally dwelt and hunted betwixt the shores of Nova Scotia and the St. Lawrence. Like all Indians enclosed within the pale of civilization, they are wasting fast from the effects of spirituous liquors, bad living, and indolent habits; deprived of the resource of the chase by the progress of agriculture, they wander on the shores of the St. Lawrence, fish, beg, or steal, and live as they can, that is, ill enough.

St. Michel is remarkable for the neatest inn in the country; I dined there, and slept at the house of Mr. Couillard, a Canadian gentleman. His house, which he had lately erected, was a substantial stone building, furnished in the plainest manner, much perhaps, as were those of our country gentlemen a century ago; that is, much wainscot, no papering, little or no mahogany, plain delf ware, a rustic establishment, with two or three little girls to wait, instead of a footman, and as many large dogs for porters. In the morning, Mr. Couillard accompanied me to the mouth of the South River, which falls over a ledge of rocks into the St. Lawrence, below his house, where the early fisherman was just visiting his nets, stretched below the fall. We returned through the village, which is one of the neatest in the province; the houses are placed in the Dutch fashion, with the gable end to the road. The number of inhabitants in the whole parish is reckoned at 1500, who have among them 1000 children; a good

proof, as Mr. Couillard seemed justly to think, of their populative disposition. On entering the church, we found the priest drilling a considerable number of them, previous to their receiving the sacrament, and bestowing a box on the ear, whenever it seemed necessary, to accustom the head to its proper position. There is an English school in the village.*

The tract of country betwixt Quebec and St. Thomas, is generally a flat, of variable breadth, lying betwixt the river and a chain of mountains or high lands, which follows the same direction, sometimes approaching nearer to, and sometimes retiring from its banks. In the neighbourhood of St. Thomas, the breadth of cultivated land seldom seems to exceed two leagues; beyond is hill and forest, into which no Canadian has yet ventured to penetrate for the purpose of settlement. Indeed, the most prominent trait in the character of this people, is an attachment to whatever is established. Far different in this respect from the American, the Canadian will submit to any privation, rather than quit the spot his forefathers tilled, or remove from the sound of his parish bells.

The next evening brought me to the village of Ouelle, situated on the right bank of a river so called. I had a letter to the Seigneur, Mr. Casgrin, whom I found near the ferry, busied among his workmen, in the superintendance of a new bridge, to supply the place of the ferry. He received me very politely, and having conducted me to a neat house, facing the stream, invited me to his family supper, which in Canada, as well as in the States, is formed by a combination of the tea equipage, with the constituent parts of a more substantial meal. He introduced me to his architect, whose appearance well answered Mr. Casgrin's description of "*rusti-*

* By an Act 41 Geo. 3. an English school is established in each of the principal villages of the Lower Province.

cus, abnormis, sapiens." The whole of his workmen, 45 in number, were, according to the custom of the country, boarded and lodged in his house; and I must do them the justice to say, 45 quieter people never lodged beneath a roof. Early hours being the order of the day, we retired to rest at nine o'clock; after an early breakfast, a relation of my host took me in his caleche, to visit a porpoise fishing in the neighbourhood; the drive was about four miles, the last two of them through a pine wood, preserved round the fishery, that the noise of agricultural occupations may not frighten the game from the shore. The fishery lies betwixt the mouth of the Ouelle, and a ridge of rocks jutting into the St. Lawrence, about a mile below it—from the extremity of this ridge, an enclosure of stakes runs a considerable way obliquely across the stream, and by crossing the retreat of the porpoises, as the tide falls, conducts them into shallow water, where they are harpooned; I saw one on the beach, which had been taken that morning; he was a small one, measuring but 10 feet in length, much more like a fat white hog, than a fish; the aperture of the ear is covered by the skin, and by no means indicates the acuteness of hearing ascribed to this animal by the fishermen; the largest are 18 feet in length, and are computed to yield two hogsheads of oil each, the quality of which makes it in high request among the natives, even for culinary purposes. I was told, that as many as 300 were sometimes taken in a morning; the Seigneur is entitled to $\frac{1}{10}$th, and Mr. Casgrin received $\frac{1}{15}$th, besides, as part owner. On the ledge of rocks was placed a small wooden cross, on which, every spring, the Curè is summoned to bestow his benediction, without which, no success is to be expected through the season. As the fishery is at present rather on the decline, it is probable the porpoises have hit upon some counter-charm. The inhabitants point out as a great curiosity, a succes-

sion of marks or fractures on these rocks, which, from their shape, they call the Rackets, or Snow Shoes, to which, they certainly bear considerable resemblance, both in shape, size, and position, being placed much at the distance a man would step. My host, probably no great geologist, conjectured they were really the impression of shoes, made while the rock was soft; and this explanation perfectly satisfies the whole neighbourhood. Perhaps many important systems are built on analogies, not much closer.

For some miles before reaching Kamouraska, a striking difference becomes visible in the appearance of the country. The basis of the soil had hitherto consisted of the same clay-slate, generally red, which constitutes the bed and banks of the St. Lawrence about Quebec, interspersed with frequent detached blocks and masses of granite, apparently springing through it. Here, however, granite begins to quit its secondary rank, and gradually seems to become the general substratum of the soil :* instead of scattered masses, lofty ridges and mounds of considerable size make their appearance. At St. Roch, the road runs for nearly a mile beneath a perpendicular ledge of it, probably 300 feet in height. Towards Kamouraska, it rises into a succession of sharp conical hills, resembling a line of lofty pyramids, ranged at angles to the course of the river. The most singular mass of this kind, I had an opportunity of observing closely, is about two miles below Kamouraska; its circumference is about a league at the base; the height may be betwixt 4 and 500 feet; its sides rise in many places as smoothly perpendicular as if cut down by an axe, scarcely yielding a fissure, in which the stunted cedar can take root. A flat meadow divides this immense rock from an-

* The valley of the river Ouelle produces limestone, but of an inferiour quality.

other, seemingly of nearly equal dimensions, and towering up no less boldly. The small space which divides them, (not a quarter of a mile,) and the perfect congruity of their shape, irresistibly impress on the mind, the idea of their having once formed a single mountain.

Kamouraska is pleasantly situated on the St. Lawrence, and is a village of some resort during summer, for sea-bathing; the salt-water first evidently commencing in this neighbourhood. The parish is of some extent, as may be conjectured from the value of the cure, estimated at 1000*l.* per annum; that is, when all dues are fully paid, which was not the case with the last curè, recently deceased, who, "good easy man," was not only content to receive what his parishoners chose to give him, generally about one-third of his right, but gave away half of the little remainder, living in a crazy tenement, on apostolic diet, and amusing himself by walking on the beach, to ask and hear the news. Opposite Kamouraska is a cluster of small islands, or rather wooded rocks, round which there are considerable fisheries of salmon, herrings, and sardines; the first two of which are cured and exported to the West Indies. These fisheries are constructed much like the porpoise fishery; a considerable space of water is enclosed with two hedges, tapering to a point, and terminating in a small circular basin, from which the fish are taken at low water. I spent the greater part of a day, on one of these islands, with a Canadian gentleman, to whom some of the fisheries belonged; we went round them in a cart, to take out our fish, which we broiled, and dined *à la militaire*, under our tent, on the rocks. Their stony soil, besides pine and cedar, and a variety of shrubs, produces the wild gooseberry, rasberry, cherry, and plum, in great abundance. A telegraph is erected on one of them, where the soldiers have established a thriving potatoe garden. We returned to Kamouraska in the

evening, cheered on our way with the rude harmony of the Canadian boat-song.

The ground rises gradually behind Kamouraska into a high rocky ridge, from whence the eye dwells delighted on the broad St. Lawrence, studded with woody isles, and bounded by the bold mountain shore of the northern bank. The little river of Kamouraska, descending from the eastern mountains, encounters this granite ridge, and falls in a broad sheet over a natural wall of about thirty feet in height; a portion of the current is diverted from the summit to turn a grist mill, the property of the Seigneur, who receives one fourteenth of the quantity ground, amounting to one thousand bushels of wheat per annum, in addition to the miller's fee. The miller is an old Hanoverian, who served in the American war.

The St. Lawrence is twenty-two miles broad at Kamouraska. I was the whole of a day crossing it, in a little boat, to Malbay, or rather to a scattered hamlet, four miles to the north of it, the falling tide having prevented our doubling the last rocky point. From hence I was carted to the ferry of the little river at the mouth of which the village stands. I inquired, as is the custom in the untravelled parts of Canada, for the best house, in which to find hospitality for the night, and was directed to that of Madame Nairn, the lady of the Seignory. I found it a plain, and rather large dwelling, standing in a meadow, on the edge of the St. Lawrence. The lady was from home, but an old domestick assiduously welcomed me in: wine was immediately offered me, and in a few minutes, refreshments were on the table; eggs, tea, and bread and butter, to which a long fast inclined me to do ample justice. I afterwards walked round the village. Its site is a small semicircle of alluvial land lying at the foot of mountains of a bolder and more romantick character than any I had yet seen in Canada. The only aperture

in the chain affords a passage to the Malbay river, which emerges from a darkly-shaded glen, on the north west of the village. The houses, about forty or fifty in number, follow the curve of the soil, or banks of the streamlet, near the mouth of which a neat white church rises, in striking relief, against the dark bold mountain, towering about half a mile beyond it. Near the St. Lawrence I observed a number of sharp conical sand-hills, or mounds, from ten to forty feet in height. The extreme regularity of their figure strongly impressed me with an idea of their artificial construction; upon an English down they would pass for barrows; I even fancied I could trace the remains of a foss and raised pathway to some of them, like the entrance to a Roman camp; but whether they are the graves of forgotten Sachems, or the work of the floods of former ages, I pretend not to decide. I found a comfortable chamber prepared on my return, and breakfast on the table in the morning. "How do you contrive to get through your time here, my girl?" said I, to the rosy-cheeked damsel who kept up my supply of fresh eggs; "O, Sir, the time goes very quick; we have plenty of employment." "Well, but in winter?" O the winter passes still quicker than the summer." I regretted I had not an opportunity of paying my respects to my kind hostess, in whose family time was allowed to jog quietly on, without any extraordinary contrivances for his destruction, a privilege so seldom granted him by the present generation. There is something of the romance of real life in Mrs. Nairn's history. She accompanied her husband from Scotland, during the American war, in which he served, and was rewarded by a grant of the Seignory of Malbay, a tract of mountain country, little prized by Canadian or English settlers, but dearer, perhaps to him, from its likeness to his native Highlands. When he settled on it there were but two houses, besides the one he built. He lived

here till his death, and his widow has continued to reside here for forty-five years, during which the three houses have grown into a parish of three hundred inhabitants. Two of Mrs. Nairn's daughters are married and settled in the village. Her son fell in the battle of Chrystler's Farm.

Malbay is the last settlement on the north bank of the St. Lawrence. The only habitation beyond it, is a trading house of the Northwest Company, who drive a pretty gainful traffick with the Indians of the neighbourhood, taking their furs at a shilling each, and selling them those commodities custom has rendered necessaries, at their own price; no pains, nor even violence being spared, to prevent any competition likely to diminish their profits. A striking instance of this spirit occurred last year at Pistole. Nearly opposite to their trading post is a Canadian fishery, the business of which is generally carried on during the spring, when the fish frequent the south side of the river; last year, however, owing to a scarcity of salt, it was necessarily put off until the autumn, when the fish are found on the north bank; but when the fishermen attempted to pursue their vocation in this direction, they were set upon by an armed party of the subaltern agents of the Northwest Company, their oars and boat tackling destroyed, and themselves set adrift, at the mercy of the elements. Fortunately they succeeded in gaining the shore in this condition, and are since understood to have commenced a process against these lawless traders, who, themselves, unchartered monopolists, assumed the possibility of these fishermen communicating with the Indians, as a pretext for this unprovoked outrage.

The road from Malbay to St. Paul's Bay, follows the direction of the river, over a tract of mountain country, occasionally crossed by deep glens, and covered with pine, cedar, elm, maple, birch, and wild cherry: neither oak, nor hickory, are found so

far north. Scattered settlements are every where met with along the road, and many an acre, on which the half burnt pine-trunks are still standing, rather indicates the progress of cultivation, than adds to the beauty of the landscape. Rather more than half way betwixt Malbay and St. Paul's Bay, stands the little village of "Les Eboulemens." I stopped my caleche at the house of the curè, whose rosy *en bon point*, and good humour, betokened him equally at ease in spirituals and temporals.* He regaled me with wine and strawberries, served by his sister, the staid gouvernanté of his small menage; and if wine and fruit, after a dusty journey, required any sauce, I should have found it in the pleasure my entertainers seemed to feel in my appetite. He lamented he had nothing better to offer me, but if I would stay a few days, and make his house my home, the best he could procure was at my service. The only return he required, or I could make, to this hospitality, was to tell him the news, and leave him my name, to add to the small list of strangers, who had honoured his humble domicile. Perverse fortune, that planted thy social spirit on the bleak crest of "Les Eboulemens!" not one, I trust, of thy few visitants, has forgotten the smile of thy ruddy countenance, thy band and cassock, somewhat the worse for time and snuff, thy easy chair, and breviary tied up in black cloth; or the neat flower garden round thy porch, whence, at the interval of thy evening devotion, I can fancy thine eye resting complacently on the lovely prospect it commands—the small white church, gleaming in the vale below; beyond it a succession of lofty capes and wooded promontories, jutting into the broad St. Lawrence;

* I am sorry to say, I did not do his philosophy sufficient honour by the conjecture; I learned afterwards that he was very poor, being very generous, and no favourite with the bishop.

and "Isle aux Coudres," lying, like a shield, on its bright waters.

St. Paul's Bay is a flourishing little village, much resembling Malbay, in site and feature. The parish is reckoned to contain about 2000 inhabitants, the greater part of them settled along the little river, whose mouth forms the bay, and which once probably covered the soil on which the village is built. From St. Paul's Bay to St. Joachim, there is a road planned, but, as I had not leisure to wait its making, I procured a boat to take me round Cape Tormento. "Isle aux Coudres" lies within the bay; it is one of the earliest settlements in Canada, and said still to retain, with the simple manners, a considerable share of the national urbanity of its first colonist. My boat's crew, though strong in number, were weak in skill, nearly half of them being old men, for the first time in their lives handling an oar; an evil which began to be felt, as soon as we had to contend with the short swell, caused by the opposition of wind and tide; the contest, however, was but of short duration, for after a little bungling and tossing, and some awkward attempts, on the part of our young hands, to laugh away their fright, we found ourselves obliged to make for the village of "La Petite Riviere," to prevent greater evils.

After securing our boat, we wound our way through a marshy meadow, towards a small wooden house at the end of the village, whose appearance bespoke it none of the best there, but it had the merit, as my commodore and pilot observed, of being kept by a clean woman, and of lying handy to the boat. We proceeded, accordingly, down the plashey path which led to it, and by the help of stepping stones, manœuvred across the duck-puddle round the door-way. The interior, however, did not discredit the "gude wife's" character. The white-washed walls, against which hung the skin of a sea-wolf, were clean, and a small display of brown pans and many-coloured

crockery, neatly arranged, fronted the door. The dame and her daughter readily left their carding, to set about preparing a meal: and a plentiful dish of omlet, fried with bacon, and served up with maple sugar, was soon placed on what in height and dimensions might have passed equally for stool or table. Three iron forks, and as many platters, compleated our service; the only knife in the family being produced from our host's breeches pocket, where it usually reposed, after its daily duties of cutting sticks, bread for the family consumption, and bacon. As there was nothing in this banquet to induce excess, I ventured, immediately after it, to commence a survey of the hamlet. It occupies a strip of land along the St. Lawrence, about four miles in length, and seldom half a mile in its greatest breath. Towards either end of it, the bold ridge-shores closes in, and narrows this distance into little more than the breadth of a road, and pebbly beach. This screen of rocks, rising precipitously to the height of several hundred feet, and thus effectually protecting the territory of this secluded colony from the chilling north-west winds,* is cloathed to the summit with deep groves of pines, beech, and maple; the latter of which afford annually more than sufficient sugar for the consumption of the inhabitants. The style of their houses is at once substantial and commodious: walls freshly white-washed, and deftly-trimmed gardens, denote a

* Experience confirms the rational conjecture, that it is to the severity of this wind, sweeping over the bleak regions of Hudson's Bay, and the Labrador coast, that the extreme cold of Lower Canada is principally attributable. The north-westerly course of the streams which fall into the St. Lawrence, on its left bank, by opening a passage to this wind, obviates the good effects of the shelter afforded by its lofty shores. The village of La Petite Riviere seems indebted for its genial climate to the favourable distinction of being watered by a stream too narrow and winding to leave any considerable breach in the heights, by which it is sheltered, for the wind to pass through.

condition beyond the mere grovelling of existence. They are grouped, or irregularly scattered along the road, each embosomed in its own tufted orchard, at once the wealth and glory of its owner. This luxuriant abundance of fruit trees is not only the most graceful feature of the scene, but a very striking peculiarity in the site and soil of this favoured spot, which produces apples as abundantly, and of equal quality with those of Montreal; plums, cherries, and currants no less plentifully: even the peach deigns to ripen here, though found no where besides in Canada, to the west of the Niagara frontier. Fruit is therefore the staple commodity of the village, and obtains for the inhabitants, not only the corn they have not space to raise in sufficient quantity for their consumption, but the few articles they are accustomed to consider the luxuries of life.

At the lower end of the village, a rustick bridge of pine logs, crosses "La Petite Riviere." I sat down on a fallen tree to admire this swift gurgling streamlet, as it came from its green alcove,

"Making sweet musick with th' enameled stones,"

and constrasting its white broken current with the deep, and varied verdure of the birch, pine, and maple, over-arching its rocky banks, as if to veil the secret urn, and repose of its Naiad. On my way back, I accepted one of the many courteous offers of the "Fathers of the Hamlet," to enter his house and refresh myself. After taking a glass of milk, the good man offered me, as the greatest treat within his means, rum and tobacco; and on my declining both, "What," said he, "you neither drink rum nor smoke tobacco? How rich you must be!" I could not assent to his conclusion, though it would, in general, be just enough if in the place of rum and tobacco, one should substitue the equivalent luxuries of more polished life. He informed me, the hamlet contain-

ed thirty fires, and one hundred and thirty grown up persons; or as he expressed it, "Communicants;" persons receiving the sacrament: a criterion of population very common in Lower Canada, and very ill suited to most other countries. All his observations bespoke a mind cheerful and contented. He praised the excellence of the soil, and observed, it was one of the earliest settlements in Canada. "Their young men," he said, "had gone out during the war, but most of them had returned safe, for Sir George had always spared the Canadians." He offered me his house, if I was unprovided with a lodging, adding, that every house in the village would be equally at my service, either for myself, or the persons who came with me. I repaid his kind offers, by giving him the best advice I could, on the disordered state of a watch he had purchased of a knavish tradesman in Quebec; and we parted, I think with somewhat more of cordial leave-taking, than usually graces the separation of such brief acquaintance

On returning from my walk, I found my host's family collected round a blazing hearth, though in the month of July. They could not sufficiently wonder among themselves, that I should have walked to the end of their village from mere curiosity; a restless feeling, with which the Canadian gentleman or peasant is little troubled. An iron lamp having been trimmed, and hung against the wall, a copious mess of milk porridge was served up for supper; soon after which, the old people retired to an inner room, to perform their evening devotions, while the younger members of the family knelt round the apartment, and having prayed some time in silence, retired to rest. If prayers can enter heaven, it must surely be, when they thus rise, a voluntary offering from the dwelling of contented poverty. I was roused, at midnight, to mount a bare-backed nag, which a barefooted gossoon led by the halter, through lanes and meadows, till emerging among the rocks, a distant light directed us

to our boat, which lay, as the tide was low, some way in the stream, and we presently proceeded on our voyage. The cold star-beam enabled us to discern the dark outline of Cape Tormento, rising almost perpendicularly from the water's edge. Its height is estimated by the Canadians at 1800 feet; but I should think 800 a sufficient allowance. I landed soon after day dawn, near St. Joachim. Here is a house with lands, belonging to the Quebec seminary, farmed out under the inspection of a steward. I fancied the cultivation of them superiour in method, and their crops more abundant than any I had seen. The soil is altogether alluvial, lying on a level with the river, betwixt it and its rocky banks, as if redeemed from the water.

My guide, charioteer, or carter, (for be it known, St. Joachim could furnish no costlier vehicle than a cart,) having introduced himself to my notice, with a compliment to the frankness and honour of his own dealings, (of which, by-the-bye, I had some little doubt,) proceeded to inform me of a far more obvious peculiarity in his character; "*qu'il aimoit beaucoup à jaser en chemin.*" He followed up this enunciation, or rather denunciation, with a succession of interrogatories, monologues, and eulogies on his steed "Papillon," (who had certainly nothing volatile in his whole anatomy,) and good humouredly apologised, from time to time, for his excessive loquacity, which he ascribed to an extreme thirst for information; without adding, whether for giving or receiving it. He expressed much surprise at the pains taken, and bows bestowed by the parliamentary candidates of the province; said, he imagined it must be "*pour l'honneur,*" and desired to know if it was the same in England; I replied in the affirmative, with regard to the pains-taking and bowing, though I could not add it was altogether "*pour l'honneur.*" No less was his surprise at what he deemed my abstemiousness, when he found I took no meal betwixt breakfast and a four o'clock dinner; detailing,

at the same time, the four diurnal meals with which he appeased his own appetite. "I should like much to travel with you, said he, but instead of receiving wages, I should request to eat as I liked."

From St. Joachim the road runs at the foot of the cliffs, for the greater part of the way to Montmorenci; numberless little streams come hissing down the furrowed rocks, and having fed the thriving orchards, which cluster at their base, are received in stone tanks, round which, the bare-armed, naked-footed, (I am sorry I cannot say silver-footed,) damsels of the village repair, unconsciously, to imitate the daughters of king Alcinoüs. At Quebec I parted with my garrulous friend, who very courteously pressed me to make his house my quarter, should chance again lead me to St. Joachim, adding, by way of reply to my hint of the improbability of such an occurrence, that "though mountains could not meet, men might."

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FALLS OF THE CHAUDIERE.

The Falls of the Chaudiere are about four miles from the junction of the Chaudiere with the St. Lawrence, which takes place on its south shore, five miles above Quebec. There are few who will not account an excursion hither, among the interesting days of their life. The wooded cliffs of the St. Lawrence, with Sillori, and New Liverpool, looking out, on opposite sides, from their romantic seclusion; the broad expanse of the river itself, widening out from Cap Rouge, as the bastioned heights of Quebec seem to close its northern outlet; the frequent sail, or heavy timber-raft, "floating many a rood," prepare the mind, by a succession of pleasing objects, for the enjoyment of the scene which awaits it. After walking from the little cove, in which you land, to the village of St. Nicholas, (about half a mile,) you are furnished with a conveyance, cart or caleche, to within a mile of the Falls. The road turns from the village through the fields, and after descending into a little pebbly streamlet, passes through a deep wood, principally of pine and maple, in the middle of which, it ceases to be practicable for carriages; you continue by a footpath, and suddenly emerge upon a ledge of rocks, whose disjointed masses, and strata, upheaved from their primæval bed, seem, while the rush of waters thunders around, to denote the immediate presence of some destroying minister of nature. Continuing over these rocks, you arrive at a crag, projecting midway across the river, and

crested with a single cedar. The Falls are now directly before you; the river, 240 yards in breadth, precipitates itself above 100 perpendicular feet; the bed of the fall is a red clay-slate, regularly, and even fancifully penciled with thin layers of soft grey stone; this gayety of colouring, while it pleasingly relieves the solemn grandeur of the scene, lends a russet tinge to the descending flood, whose broken masses foam in their descent, "like the mane of a chesnut steed."

Part of it falls over a ledge of rocks, at an oblique angle to the main channel, forming a lesser cascade, which, but for its magnificent neighbour, would itself be an interesting object. Nearly on the line of the falls, a wall of granite, about six feet in height, and three in thickness, springs through the strata, forming the bed of the river, and traverses them in a straight line, until broken through by the lesser fall, beyond which a fragment of it appears again, seeming to indicate, that it had once extended across the torrent, and resisted its passage.

There is no other appearance of granite immediately round the falls, though immense masses of it cumber the stream about half a mile below them, and form considerable rapids; viewed from this spot, the falls lie in beautiful perspective, beyond the cliffs, which project from either shore, in their front.*

The surrounding scenery is grand and quiet. The stately woods have never bowed before the ravage of improvement, nor has the stream been tortured, and diverted from its channel, for the supply of grist and saw mills. The freshness of nature is in every sight and sound, and cold must be the heart that feels not a momentary glow, while thus standing in the presence of her wildest loveliness.

* The corresponding position of these cliffs on both sides of the stream, affords strong reason to think they once formed part of the ledge of the Fall, which has since worn its way backward to its present situation.

CHAPTER XIV.

QUEBEC TO MONTREAL.

		Miles.	
July 28th,	Bridge of Jacques Cartier,	33	
29th,	Three Rivers,	63	Caleche.
30th,	Falls of Shawinnegamme,	21	Canoe.
August 1st,	Berthier,	40	Caleche.
2d,	St. Ours,	1	Ferry.
	St Antoine,		
	St. Denys,	24	
	Belœil,	16 1-2	
4th,	Longueil,	24	Caleche.
	Montreal,	4	Ferry.
		226 1-2	

TRAVELLERS frequently make a small detour to pass by the Jacques Cartier bridge, six or seven miles above the ferry. The river comes widely down betwixt its wooded shores, and, after forming several cascades, foams through a narrow channel, which seems chisselled out of the solid rock to receive it, and, having passed the bridge, buries itself from the eye of the spectator, in the deep valley below. The rock, which constitutes its bed, is formed into regular platforms, descending by natural steps to the edge of the torrent. The Jacques Cartier is famous for its salmon, which are taken of a great size, and in great abundance below the bridge, at the foot of which stands a little inn, where the angler may have his game cooked for supper, and sleep in the lull of the torrent below his chamber window. Its white-washed parlour is adorned with stuffed birds, fishing tackle, records of large fish caught, and such like sporting trophies. I supped ingloriously, but heartily, on

salmon I had not captured. After quitting this neighbourhood, the scenery of the St. Lawrence becomes flat and uniform. The high lands, which skirt the horizon of Quebec, fall off towards the north-west, leaving an expanse of level country as far as the hill, which the primitive settlers, in admiration of its solitary, and king-like eminence, denominated the Royal Mountain. The road follows the direction of the river, sometimes running along the beetling cliff, which once embanked it, and sometimes descending to the water's edge, along the narrow alluvion time has redeemed from its bed.

From Quebec to Montreal may be called one long village. On either shore a stripe of land, seldom exceeding a mile in breadth, (except near the streams which fall into the St. Lawrence,) bounded by aboriginal forests, and thickly studded with low-browed farm houses, white-washed from top to bottom, to which a log-barn and stable are attached, and commonly a neat plot of garden ground, represents all that is inhabited of Lower Canada. A cluster of these houses becomes a village, generally honoured with the name of some saint, whose church glitters afar with tin spires and belfry. Upon the shoulders of this patron saint, the Canadian rests the chief part of his cares, both temporal and eternal—having committed his seed to the same ground, and in the same manner with his forefathers, he trusts that the "*bon Dieu*" will, through the intercession of the said saint, do the rest. Should an inclement season, as was the case last year, disappoint his hopes, he is prepared patiently to confess himself, and die of hunger, fully persuaded that the blessed St. Anne, or St. Anthony, will not fail him in both worlds.

The spirit, which endures an evil rather than overcome it, is not very favourable to the comfort of a traveller: it indicates bad roads, bad inns, bad horses, and bad carriages; all which he finds accordingly; yet in spite of all these, I prefer the

travelling of Lower Canada, to that of every other part of the American Continent. You arrive at the post house, (as the words "*maison de poste*," scrawled over the door give you notice, though the premises present no further hint of the appointment, than perhaps a tattered caleche under the adjoining shed.) "Have you horses, Madame?" "*oui, Monsieur, tout de suite*,"—A loud cry of "*Oh! bon homme*," succeeds, to forward the intelligence to her husband, at work in the adjacent field—"*Mais, asseyez vous, Monsieur:*"—and if you have patience to do this quietly for a few minutes, you will see Crebillon, Papillon, or some other *on* arrive from pasture, mounted by honest *Jean* in his blue night cap, with all his habiliments shaking in the wind, at a full canter. The invariable preliminary of splicing and compounding the broken harness having been adjusted, the whip cracks, and you start to the exhilarating cry of "*marche donc*," at the rate of six, and often, seven miles an hour, with no stoppages. Should a further degree of speed be required, the place of the English "extra shilling" is cheaply supplied by a few flowers of rhetorick, bestowed in the shape of an eulogium on *Jean's* punchy, fumbling nag. "*Oh Monsieur, il est bien capable*," is his complacent reply, (for be it known, that no knight of chivalry ere prized his gallant Bayardo, more than the Canadian his dumplin courser,) and straightway, an additional mile in his hour's driving makes good his boast, and places, beyond the slur of sceptical doubt or criticism, Crebillon's fame.

THREE RIVERS, AND FALLS OF SHAWINNEGAMME.

THE village of "Trois Rivieres" stands at the mouths of the St. Maurice, which, being three in number, were mistaken by Jaques Cartier, or his

successors, for three distinct rivers, and thence the village had its name. It contains an Ursuline convent, which marks it for a place of some note in a catholick country; but it is still more worthy of distinction for being the residence of the Abbé de Calonne, brother to the French minister of that name, so unfortunately memorable. This excellent old man, on the return of Louis XVIII. to France, came into possession of property (chiefly forest-lands, which had remained in the hands of the government) to the value of 3000*l.* per annum, the whole of which he immediately divided betwixt his nephews; rightly judging that the real affection of relatives consists, not in a testamentary gift of wealth they are no longer able to enjoy, but in the speediest application of whatever means they possess, for promoting the happiness of their connexions. For himself, he considers it wealth enough that he is able to employ the evening of life in acts of piety and benevolence towards his little cure, whose tears will honour his bier, and their grateful remembrance be all his glory upon earth. He was at this time actively engaged in alleviating the distress resulting from the last year's defective harvest. The inhabitants of many villages had, for sometime, been reduced to live on such vegetables as they could pick from the woods and fields, and many had died of famine. Considerable relief was afforded by the sale of commissariat stores, which had been collected largely in case of a continuance of war. This measure had, perhaps, some collateral effect in producing the scarcity, but the production of such extreme distress from a single bad harvest, may be considered, generally, as symptomatick of a bad system of agriculture.

Having procured two experienced boatmen, with a bark canoe, I ascended the St. Maurice, to visit the Falls of Shawinnegamme. The river banks, at first low, rise, on ascending the stream, to the height

sometimes of 300 feet. There is an iron forge on the right bank, about seven miles from Trois Rivieres; after which, the silence of the scene is broken but by the sound of the Rapids, or the call of the wild duck, as she skims through the sedges before the approach of the canoe. Considerable skill and exertion are requisite to force these frail vehicles over the ledges of rock which form the rapids: should the boat-pole break, or be unskilfully planted, your paper craft is hurried off at the mercy of the torrent, and dashed to atoms: yet of this there is no danger; or, at least, no more than suffices to give the spirits an agreeable impulse. After ascending about fifteen miles, we disembarked at two portages, within a short distance of each other, formed by immense masses of granite, wildly scattered across the river bed, round which the stream roars and dashes, as if indignant at their resistance, and precipitates itself, sometimes to the depth of thirty or forty feet, cresting its tawny* waters with foam and vapour. One of the boatmen took the canoe, fourteen feet in length, on his head, the other carrying its contents, and walked steadily with it, and his fowlingpiece in his hand, across rocks I found it quite enough to carry myself over. After paddling a few miles further, the river expanded into an ample basin, closed round with pine-clad mountains, reflected from its limpid bosom. Yet in this seeming security dwells the greatest danger: the stream descending rapidly into it, from the immediate vicinity of the falls, is unable to find an exit with equal celerity at the opposite point, where the channel narrows; part of it, therefore, makes a turn within the basin, and produces a vortex about its centre, in which some of the early voyageurs perished. The difficulty is easily avoided, when known, by creeping

* The St. Maurice, from the dark colour of its waters, is commonly called the Black River.

close round the edge of the shore. About half a mile above the basin, the river again widens. The tumbling of waters is now heard distinctly; nothing however is visible but a smooth sheet of water, at the bottom of which, a lofty barrier of wooded rocks forbids all further progress. Cliffs, equally lofty, rise on either side. It is not till you have nearly reached the shore in front, that you perceive the Falls, rushing down on your right hand into a gloomy nook, which seems hollowed out for their reception. I should conjecture their descent to be about 100 feet;* but the fall is not perpendicular, and is divided by an islet, or mass of rocks, on which a few pine and cedar trees have taken root. The current betwixt this island and the right bank does not exceed the width of twelve yards. The extreme breadth of both falls together, may be sixty; this, however, is not easily estimated, because no front view can be obtained, but from the perpendicular cliffs which form the elbow round them, and which I had no means of ascending. Much clambering is requisite to reach the head of the descent, for the regular carrying path cuts off the whole angle, and though my boatmen had repeatedly ascended the river to the highlands, (above 100 leagues,) they had never before approached the Falls. The rocks round the foot of them are covered with trunks and limbs of trees, worn round and smooth, as if turned in a lathe, by the action of the torrent. After spreading my repast on a granite table, and sharing my rustick meal with my conductors, we paddled rapidly down the current, and by the aid of a bright moon, reached Three Rivers at ten o'clock, making forty-four miles in thirteen hours.

* The different falls and rapids betwixt the mouth of the river, and the great fall, cannot be reckoned at less than 100 feet more: for the whole descent of the river in this space, 150 would probably be no extreme calculation.

After quitting the St. Maurice, the tributary streams of the St. Lawrence descend slowly and muddily through a considerable extent of flat country, which skirts Lake St. Peter, and spreads at the back of the Montreal Island, as far as the Two Mountains. The only marked elevation through these extensive flats, is the ancient bank of the river, from thirty to fifty feet high, running in the direction of, but at various distances from, its present channel. Betwixt the Masquenonge and Berthier, its distance is about a mile. M. Volney observes, that this second ramp is more particularly distinguishable along the rivers of the west.* It is, however, not less remarkable on the St. Lawrence, and its tributary streams, as far as Lake Ontario. It is not only to be traced along the course of the river generally, but follows each bay and winding with a corresponding flexure, thus indicating, that the subsequent change in the volume of water has taken place gradually, and without violence. I could never discover a single creek without this accompaniment, though the traveller repeatedly encounters these banks, separated by a flat channel of eighty or a hundred yards in width, overgrown with trees, through which the track of a scanty streamlet is scarcely marked by a line of verdure, fresher than the adjacent bottom.

The number of abandoned mill-seats, particularly in parts of the country recently settled, as well as the difficulty of working many of those still in use, shew the same process of draining to be still continuing.

The little change which has taken place in the line and figure of these slopes warrants the belief, that few centuries have passed since the greater part of the cultivated land of this continent was submerged in morass, and pouring rivers, which have

* Tableau du Climat, &c. i. p. 89.

since entirely disappeared, or been greatly reduced in their limits. Where the country is flat, this second bank must be sought at a considerable distance from the present channel; so that a general rise of fifty or sixty feet would probably overflow much of the inhabited country betwixt the Jaques Cartier and St. Maurice, the whole neighbourhood of Lake St. Peter and the Richelieu river, to the foot of the Belœil Mountain, with the southwest shores of the Montreal Island, and the greater part of the upper province, betwixt the Uttawa and the neighbourhood of Prescott.

Having ferried from Berthier to Contrecœur, I proceeded, "*en caleche*," with two Crebillons, towards St. Ours, in the direction of the Belœil Mountain, towering in the misty horizon. The meadows were profusely decorated with the rich orange lily, and the banks and dingles with the crimson cones of the sumack, and a variety of flowering shrubs. Several brigs and merchant-ships were dropping down with the tide, their crowded sails scarcely swelling in the languid summer breeze, which just sufficed to temper the glowing atmosphere of August.

The Canadian summer (though the present year formed in some degree an exception) is hot in proportion to the severity of the winter, which enables the cultivator to raise Indian corn, water melons, gourds, capsicums, and such vegetables as require a short and intense heat; a circumstance which lends the country the aspect of a Portuguese summer, by way of appendix to a Russian winter. M. Volney observes, (tom. i. p. 134,) that this is the case along the whole extent of the Atlantick coast, as far as the southern states; each portion of which is both hotter in summer, and colder in winter, than its parallels in Europe, by many decrees. The greatest heat experienced this summer (esteemed a very cold one) at Quebec was 92° of Fahren. In the shade, 80° and 82° were average temperatures during July and August.

CHAPTER XV.

THE BELŒIL MOUNTAIN.

On my arrival at the unfrequented village of Belœil, I proceeded, according to the travelling custom in Canada, to the house of the curè, who generally considers, in the remoter parts of the country, the trifling charges of hospitality repaid by the novelty of a stranger's, visit, and by the little news he commonly brings with him; but the curè of Belœil was a youth of the new school, a cold lanky figure, as different from my mountain friend in manners, as in appearance. With a very stiff apology, he recommended me and my baggage to a neighbouring auberge, where I found more tolerable accommodation than the exteriour seemed to promise; it had, however, one puzzling quality, but which could be exhibited in wet weather only; when the shutters were open, the windows would not keep out the rain, and when they were closed, they would not let in the light, so that for one wet forenoon I had to choose betwixt darkness and deluge. The next morning I again crossed the river, and proceeded towards the mountain, which towered like a wall of rock above the flat country round it. A few wretched houses are scattered at its base, the inhabitants of which subsist chiefly by the produce of their apple-orchards, whose luxuriant verdure richly embowers the whole slope, until the ascent becomes difficult. At the end of this hamlet is a mill, built on the edge of a ravine, and turned by the streamlet of the mountain-lake descending down it. Here I stopped to breakfast; for the mill serves in the capacity of

an inn, to the few whom chance may mislead, or repentance for the sin of gluttony induce to stop at it. I found, however, bread, milk, and fresh eggs, (but no tea-spoon to eat them with,) and paid the price of a London hotel breakfast; a strong proof of the actual want prevailing in the province. To avoid the thick murky air of the dwelling, I had my table placed out of doors, in the shade of the house, and breakfasted to the admiration of half a dozen curly ragged heads, clustering at the window to watch how I ate; an honour, I remember, paid to the great traveller Gulliver, by the natives of Lilliput.

After breakfast I began the ascent. The first part of the way lies through a deep grove of maple, and presents no greater difficulty than that of mounting, or creeping round the masses of rock which cover the ground, and effectually bar the road to one unacquainted with its defiles. The ragged urchin, who served me as guide, led on, like a goat bred on the soil, up the narrow tract, which, now ascending above the shelter of the woods, exposed us to a burning sun ;* the dust and fatigue of clambering were in no want of this additional ally to render the expedition somewhat fatiguing. The height of the first pinnacle is 1200 feet; it is separated from the highest point, called the Sugar Loaf, by a deep and thickly timbered valley, towards the end of which, a beautiful lake, about half a mile in circumference, reposes amid its woods; so calm, secluded, and raised above the earth, it seems the Mountain-Spirits' bath, or the magick lake of some Arabian fiction. It abounds with excellent fish, though I have no reason to think they are of four colours, or make speeches in the frying-pan.

* The thermometer stood at 80° in the shade, before I began to ascend.

From the summit of the cone,* (for the Sugar Loaf has some little claim to its appellation,) the eye commands the course of the St. Lawrence, with its two lakes; and betwixt them, the town and heights of Montreal: on one side, the course of the Richelieu, with the Chambly fort and basin, and frontier woods beyond; on the other, the Atamasca; and to the south, continued mountain ridges, fading in the distance: except in this direction, the whole prospect is a level plain of woodland, intersected and spotted with brown patches of cultivation, and white villages.

Volumes of smoke, from the casual, or intentional burning of woods, every where clouded the horizon, and seemed to give additional heat to the glowing landscape.

The basis of the mountain is granite, forming a bold termination to that branch of the Green Mountains, which divides the waters of lake Champlain from the sources of the Atamasca and St. Francis.† On my way down, I stopped to refresh myself at a delicious spring, in the valley of the lake, repaying the favour, as I could best afford, with an idle verse :—

Seldom, O Naiad, thy sequester'd dell
Hath pilgrim trodden, or bent o'er thy well
To slake his thirst, and lave his throbbing brow,
And thank thee for the boon, as I do now!
Thine is no stinted draught, but largely given
As blessings are rain'd down on man by heav'n;
Not as man gives to man—Therefore I'll think,
In future days, upon thy grassy brink,
And nameless spring; cold, undisturb'd and clear,
As Alpine icicles, or holy seer,

* The height of this pinnacle has been ascertained to be 1400 feet.

† Volney observes, i, 49.

"Le sommet de la montagne de Belœil est de granit, ainsi que le chainon des montagnes blanches de New Hampshire, auquel on peut dire qu'il appartient."

Whose bosom passion never touch'd with fire:
And this day's memory shall live entire,
To tell how on an August noon I toil'd
To gain Belœil's rude summits; all bemoil'd
With threading the hot wilderness of boughs,
Whose intertwining, scanty path allows;
And climbing rocks of granite, broad and bare,
Which, thus upheaving their grey sides in air,
Like Nature's altars seem; or giant thrones,
Where mountain Genii sit, to catch the tones
Of heav'n's high minstrelsy, and thence prolong
In waterfalls and breezes, the deep song.
The peak at length, and topmost stone I won,
And gaz'd upon the landscape, wide and dun;
Far-gleaming lakes, and the majestick river,
Whose silver waters through the brown fields quiver;
Broad forests mapp'd all round, the royal hill,
In sultry mistiness repos'd and still:
Descending thence, I hail thy silent bower,
In its green freshness, at this glowing hour,
When birds are panting in the leafy brakes,
And the blythe grashopper shrill musick makes,
A noontide reveller—and long for thee
Be this, thy valley of the mountain, free
From woodman's stroke; so o'er thy shaded spring
These towering maples shall their verdure fling,
And, shield-like, their broad branches overspread,
To fence the coolness of thy mossy bed—
My harp is feeble, Naiad, and its tone
Best heard by echoes, lonely as thine own,
Else, with Bandusia's fountain, thou shouldst live
Th' immortal life sweet poetry can give,
Thou, and thy kindred lake, whose moonlight brim,
No summer elves have printed, gemm'd and trim,
Evok'd by shepherd's reed, or minstrel's hymn.

CHAPTER XVI.

MONTREAL.

The basis of the Montreal Mountain is freestone; the ascent is consequently less steep, and the surface less broken, than those of Belœil: it is thickly wooded, and, form the river, forms an elegant background to the city: I should not suppose its height to exceed 1000 feet. Montreal is regularly built, for the most part of stone, and paved. In front of the gaol and courthouse, is a column in honour of Lord Nelson, crowned with his statue.*

The religious and charitable institutions of Montreal are counterparts of those at Quebec. The principal Catholick church is rich and handsome. The protestant church, like its brother at Quebec, will probably decay ere finished. There seems something in the Canadian climate, unfavourable to the growth of Protestant churches, though the English inhabitants are great friends to Protestant ascendancy; a feeling less costly than church building. The college, or seminary, a capacious stone building, has been lately repaired and enlarged. It was originally endowed as a branch of the seminary of Paris; and has afforded an asylum, since the revolution, to several of the members of the latter, whose learning and talents have been employed in its advancement.† The finest lands of the island

* It seems odd, that instead of a column to Lord Nelson, whose services, however glorious, were not very immediately connected with Canada, it was not thought preferable to erect some memorial to the memory of Wolfe.

† This asylum was opened to them by our government.

belong to it. There seems a greater spirit of municipal improvement in Montreal than in Quebec: it is probably richer: besides being the emporium of the fur trade, its merchants carry on a considerable traffick with the United States, particularly Vermont, and the back country of New York. The fur-traders, or North-westers, as they are familiary termed, take the lead in society, for they give the best dinners. Their ladies have consequently the privilege of leading the fashions; an eminence not less anxiously desired, nor preserved with fewer heart burnings, in a little town on the St. Lawrence, than in the capitals of France and England.

The winter is accounted two months shorter here than at Quebec. The summer heat seems more oppressive: the flat and sheltered site of the town, its roofs covered with tin, and its window shutters plated with iron, together with abundance of dust, produce a furnace-like atmosphere. I met with nothing in the town which could be called remarkable, except a pathetick address to a run-a-way wife from her disconsolate husband, written on a window-pane where I lodged. I call this remarkable, for surely it is a strange propensity to make an attempt on publick sympathy, by a disclosure of troubles more likely to excite ridicule than pity. We find, indeed, at every turn in life, persons eager to lighten their griefs by sharing them, even with a stranger, if he can be induced to lend a serious countenance to their recital, but this attempt upon the sympathy of strangers abstractedly, seems an odder instance of this leakiness of sorrow.

I imagined, but did not subscribe, the following reply :—

And who art thou, unfortunate, whose pain
Thus asks the general tear?
Thy share of wo could'st thou so ill sustain,
That thou should'st write it here?

To meet the gaze of laughter-loving scorn,
And court the publick jeer?
Deem'st thou, that first of men, the nuptial horn
Thy brow hath glorified?
Yet learn such honours should be meekly worn
Nor perk them in our faces, to deride
Patient believers in a constant bride.
Frail as this scribbled glass
Are those fair things we worship and despise;
Nor,—should thy life-blood pass
Like rain-drops,—will they heed the sacrifice:
To thy fair wanton's ears
The voice of thy complaint like musick flows;
And gemm'd with lover's tears,
The coronal of Beauty brighter glows:
Then deem not she'll relent,
Or stoop the wild wing of her joyous flight,
Pitying thy fond lament!
Thou rather, in some cell of eremite,
Thy foolery repent,
That knew'st not Love's sweet flowers with venom were aye blent.

CHAPTER XVII.

MONTREAL TO THE BOUNDARY.

Aug. 7th.	La Chine	7 Miles.
	Point Clair	9
	St. Anne	9
	[Ferry	3]
	Cedars	9
8th.	Coteau-du-Lac	7 Caleche.
		44

The road from Montreal to the ferry crosses a country generally level, but pleasingly diversified with wood and cultivated land, for the most part meadow. The hay harvest had commenced, and the fragrance of the fresh swathe seemed to unite with the cooling aspect of the broad St. Lawrence in tempering the sun's heat. The villages of La Chine, and Point Clair, were enlivened by groups of soldiers, who had marched in from Montreal, and were taking up their quarters for the night; occasionally small parties of Indians, from the opposite village of Cochenouaga, with their hats tricked out with feathers, necklaces of large blue beads, tinsel girdles, and bronzed infants, looking out from their cradles,* at their mothers' backs, formed a fanciful contrast to the regular costume of the soldiers.

* I use this word for want of a better: the Indian women still fasten their children to a flat board, which hangs behind them, and is defended by small hoops of wicker, on the exposed side.

The bustle of the road had all vanished by the time I entered the little wood immediately round the ferry, and was succeeded by a scene of quiet splendour, that Claude would have delighted in. I seated myself on a rock, near the water's edge, to admire it. An orchard, belonging to the ferry-house, with the adjacent wood, closed the back ground: on my right, the river spread out into the lake of the Two Mountains, whose blue summits bounded the prospect in that direction: on my left was a little church of grey stone, stained with moss, and going fast to decay; beyond which, on the opposite shore, lay the massive woods of L'Isle Perroi: the river in front of me (which is here about three miles over) was spotted with numberless rocky islets, behind which, the sun, sinking in a flood of golden fire, presented, in beautiful relief, the dark clumps of pine trees, which seemed pencilled out on their summits. A herd of cattle at this moment came down to water, and as they loitered listlessly in the glassy stream, seemed to share, with man, in the tranquil feelings of the scene and hour. The ferryman's broad straw hat, and light canoe, now appeared; and as we paddled swiftly by these many little island-bowers, towards the glowing west, fancy may be pardoned for half sketching a passage to the Elysian fields, or enchanted gardens of Italian romance. The blaze of sun-set had mellowed into the purple tints of evening, before we reached the opposite shore: I proceeded by moonlight to the Cedars, where I procured tea, by knocking up a civil landlord, and the next morning went on to "Coteau-du-Lac," between which, and Cornwall, runs the boundary line of the two provinces.

After quitting the neighbourhood of Montreal, we see little of the French Canadian; he is succeeded by settlers of a character very different; and with whom he is generally placed in humiliating contrast. He gains little by travellers; few enter his cottage, or inquisitively scan the character of an ignorant and

superstitious race, who aspire to little more than to walk in the steps of their priests, and forefathers. Certainly, if intellectual power be the sole measure of human merit, their's lies in little compass.—Ignorant they unquestionably are, though I doubt whether they have a right to such extreme pre-eminence in this respect, as Englishmen are usually liberal enough to assign them. Schools are common through the Province, and the number of colleges seems proportioned to the population: the gentry and tradesmen appear not much inferiour in information to the country gentlemen and tradesmen of wiser nations; and if the share of the peasant's intellect exceeds not much that of the ox he drives, he may claim fellowship in this respect, with the peasant of almost every country on the globe, except the United States. He is certainly superstitious, that is, he believes all his priest tells him—no great peculiarity. Let not, however, those qualities be overlooked, which give a grace to his poverty, sweeten the cup of his privations, and almost convert his ignorance into bliss.—Essentially a Frenchman, he is gay, courteous and contented: If the rigours of a Canadian climate have somewhat chilled the overflowing vivacity derived from his parent stock, he has still a sufficient portion of good spirits and loquacity, to make his rulers and neighbours seem cold and silent: To strangers and travellers, he is invariably civil, seeming to value their good word beyond their money: He is reckoned parsimonious, because all his gains arise from his savings: He is satisfied with the humblest fare, and his utmost debauch never exceeds a "coup" of rum, and pipe of tobacco, taken with a dish of gossip, the only luxury in which he can be accounted extravagant. The influence of the priests is probably injurious, as it affects mental improvement, beneficial with respect to morals. Religion, or rather superstition, and morality, are so blended in the mind of the Canadian, that were the former shaken, considerable time must

elapse before any basis could be raised on which to found the latter. At present, great crimes are almost unknown, and petty offences are rare; I have indeed heard the lower classes accused of a propensity to pilfer, but I am inclined to think, few instances of this kind occur, except from the pressure of extreme want. The late war, by calling out a considerable proportion of the population to serve in the militia, has produced an evident change in the manners of the young men: I always found two invariable symptoms of a man's having *served;* a little more intelligence, and a great deal more knavery. But if the war did not mend their morals, it certainly raised their character: They exhibited a high degree of courage in the field, and an affectionate zeal towards their governour, whom they believed their friend: a striking instance of this occurred early in the war. While Sir George Prevost was at Montreal, a body of several hundred peasants, from the remotest settlements of the province, came to wait on him; each man was armed with whatever weapon he could procure on the spur of the occasion, and all were cloathed and provisioned for immediate service: An old man, who had been a soldier in the revolutionary war, was at their head, who thus addressed Sir George: "My general, we heard you were in difficulty, and have marched to your assistance; I have served myself, and though an old man, do not think I am quite incapable of duty."—Sir George, strongly affected with this instance of attachment, accepted their services, and they acted as a separate body during the whole of the campaign.

The Canadians bear a considerable antipathy to the Americans, whom they denominate, "*Sacres Bastonnais.*"* I believe it to arise principally from religious prejudices; in proof of which, there is a striking anecdote related in the life of Franklin, who

* Bostonese. Inhabitants of Boston.

made an attempt to bring them over to the revolutionary cause. At this day, even the better informed among them are fully persuaded that the American government is constantly plotting their ruin, and the destruction of the mighty city of Quebec. I was witness to a curious exemplification of this feeling: A young Canadian, by no means illiterate, informed me one morning, with a very grave face, that a tremendous plot had been discovered—to destroy the whole city by blowing up the powder magazine; that a train had been found ready laid, and no doubt existed of an American's being at the end of it. I took the trouble to trace the source of this report, and found it to originate in an order to mend a broken door belonging to the magazine. A fire never happens in the town, (and they happen very often,) but the "*Bastonnais*" are the incendiaries.—Petty quarrels betwixt the natives and the Vermontese keep this feeling alive; and the English may well say of it, in the words of Sir Lucius O'Trigger, "'Tis a pretty quarrel as it is, and explanation would spoil it."

CHAPTER XVIII.

UPPER CANADA.

			Miles.	
August 8th,	Cornwall,	. .	40	Batteau.
9th,	Milleroches,	.	5 1-2	
	Williamsburg,	. .	21	
	Prescott,	. .	19	Stage.
	Brockville,	.	14	Waggon.
10th,	Gananoqua,	.	36	Boat.
11th,	Kingston,			
			135 1-2	

'Tis a sad waste of life to ascend the St. Lawrence in a batteau. After admiring the exertions with which the Canadian boatmen, who seem to have exclusive possession of this employment, force their long flat-bottomed barks against the rapids, there is nothing left but to gaze listlessly on the descending current, and its low wooded shores; while the monotony of the oar-stroke is scarcely broken by the occasional rustling of a wild duck through the sedge, or cry of the American king-fisher, as he darts from some hanging bough on his scaly prey. It cost us 15 hours to row from Coteau-du-Lac to Cornwall, with but one incident during the voyage; this was a purchase, or rather barter, of biscuit for dried eels, with a party of half-naked Indians, whom we found idly occupied, under a clump of trees on the shore, in curing the produce of their fishery. Several of their birch canoes were anchored among the islands, or glancing along the stream, as we passed the neighbourhood of St. Regis, where the Oswegatchies have a settlement.

A stage-waggon runs from Montreal to Prescott, and carries the mail, which is afterwards conveyed on horseback to Kingston; I took it at Cornwall, and can answer for its being one of the roughest conveyances on either side the Atlantick.

The face of the country is invariably flat; and, (as in Lower Canada,) settlements have not spread far from the river, and main road, which follows its banks. There is, however, an evident difference betwixt the two provinces, as to the mode of settling. The system of farming is here altogether English, or American. The low, deep-roofed Canadian dwelling, gives place to the English farm-house, or Yankey fir-boarded mansion, with a dozen sash windows in its front. Instead of churches we have taverns; gaols, and assembly-rooms for convents; and a half sulky nod for a French bow. Two Canadian postillions never meet without touching their hats; the Portuguese peasantry are equally ceremonious; when the American or Englishman nods, 'tis like the growling salutation of a mastiff, who has not quite leisure enough to turn and quarrel with you.

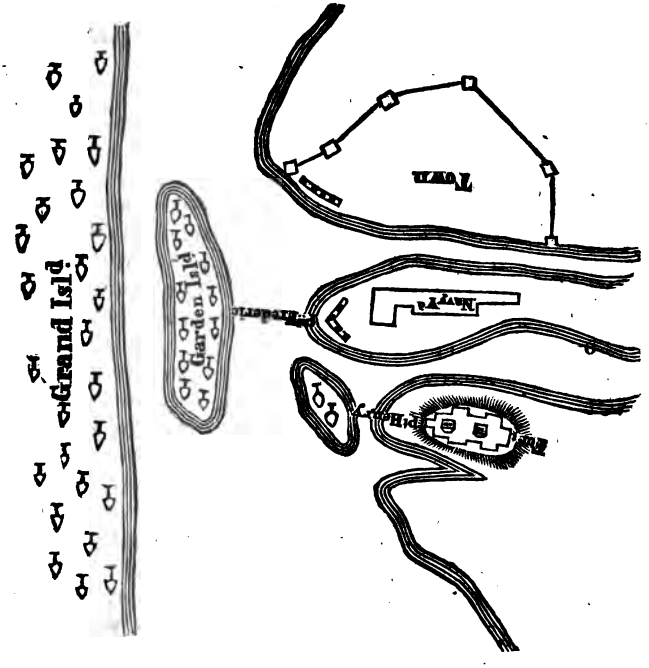
The picturesque is but scantily spread through this tract of country; occasionally, however, on emerging from a dark clump of pines, or hickory wood, the eye dwells with pleasure on the course of the river, broken with wooded islands, and foaming over a thousand rocks.* The chirp of the locust, the continual tapping of the redheaded woodpecker, (*picus erythrocephalus*,) and the light bound of the squirrel, as he traverses the newly erected fences, are sights and sounds which enliven, what, as far as regards the features of the country, may be called a somewhat heavy journey. Prescott is remarkable for nothing but a square redoubt, or fort, called Fort Wellington. As a military traveller, I should observe, there is a small fort at Coteau-du-Lac, through the works of which a lock has been cut, to avoid a dangerous rapid.—I found the accomodations at Prescott so bad, that I seated myself at midnight in a light waggon, in which two gen-

* There is a mill and small village, within a few miles of Cornwall, named "Milleroches," from the adjacent rapids.

tlemen were going to Brockville, and was thus so far jumbled into their acquaintance, that they politely offered me a passage to Kingston, in a boat belonging to the navy, which was waiting for them at Brockville. I am always unlucky on the water, whether it be in crossing the ocean, or a duck pond: The wind proved contrary, and our heavy boat pulled slowly against the current; it was, however, not so bad as the batteau voyage: I had the advantage of agreeable company, and a good provision basket, the contents of which were spread, towards noon, on a granite table, near the shore; a kettle was boiled at an adjacent cottage, and an excellent breakfast arranged, "*sub tegmine fagi.*" Occasional repetitions of this ceremony tended evidently to relieve the tedium of the journey, which lasted till the evening of the day after our embarkation.

The river banks, from the neighbourhood of Brockville, are of limestone, from 20 to 50 feet in height, and evidently grooved, or hollowed, by the tides of former ages. Immense masses of reddish granite are scattered along the bed of the stream, and sometimes project bare and bold from the shore. On one of these projections there is a blockhouse, forming a prominent object at a considerable distance. The islands which crowd the approach to Lake Ontario, called, from their number, 1000 isles, have all a granite basis, but are cloathed with cedar, pine, and abundance of raspberries: The bed of the Gananoqua is also of granite, and the lofty banks of the Kingston river, near the mills, are of the same rock, which probably crosses the country near the heads of the Oswegatchie, Muskinsons, Juniatta, and Appalusia rivers (the latter of which has a fall of 150 feet,) till it strikes, by Lake Champlain, the ridge of the Belœil mountains. The Gananoqua is rising into importance, from the circumstance of a new settlement being formed, under the auspices of government, on the waters with which it communicates.

This settlement lies on the head lakes of the Rideau, and is meant to secure a communication betwixt Montreal and Kingston, by way of the Uttawa, in case of another war: The settlers are chiefly disbanded soldiers, who clear and cultivate under the superintendance of officers of the quarter-master-general's department. Each man draws rations for himself and family, the expense of which is about five shillings per ration, so that it may be justly called a hothouse settlement. A canal has been cut to avoid the falls of the Rideau, and the communication, either by the Gananoqua, or Kingston, will be improved by locks. Kingston is singularly happy in its site, for naval purposes; it consists of three parts, disposed thus:—



The basis of the soil is a complete quarry of limestone, disposed in horizontal strata, on the surface of the earth, and requiring only to be raised with a lever, to be fit for use. The fort, which was merely a field work during the war, is now finishing with stone dug from its own foundation; and, having two stout Martello towers, already looks formidable from the lake: it is meant chiefly to defend the navy-yard, which it commands. There are batteries on Point Frederick; and on the point of the town, which is pallisaded, and strengthened with block-houses. It contains some good houses, and stores; a small theatre, built by the military for private theatricals; a large wooden Government-house, and all the appendages of an extensive military, and naval establishment, with as much society as can reasonably be expected, in a town so lately created from the "howling desert." The adjacent country is flat, stony, and barren; a circumstance which perhaps increases the kind of interest peculiar to the place: do you approach it by land? The road lies through a tract of forest, in the midst of which the first rude traces of population are scarcely visible: do you come by water? Uncultivated islands, and an uninterrupted line of wooded shore, seem conducting you to the heart of a wilderness, known only to the hunter, and his prey: you emerge from a wood, double a headland, and a fleet of ships lies before you, several of which are as large as any on the ocean: others, of equal dimensions, are building on the spot, where, a few months since, their frame-timbers were growing. Two sources of astonishment here rise in the mind: first, the magnitude of the resources called into action; secondly, the object which called them forth. Of the first, some idea may be formed, by considering that the St. Lawrence alone cost 300,000*l.* The Psyche frigate, sent from England in frame, cost 12,000*l.* in transporting from Quebec. The Commissariat dis-

bursements at Kingston, during the war, were estimated at 1000*l.* per diem. The present expense of the naval establishment is about 25,000*l.* per annum: the navy-yard employs 1200 labourers.* For the object, on one side, there is America, with "millions on millions" of acres beyond what her population can fill up, on the other, England, contending for, and expending her best blood and treasure in defence of, a country, one half of which is little better than a barren waste of snows, and the other, a wild forest, scarcely intersected by a thread of population. This is the "*gros jeu*" of society.

* Considerable reductions have lately taken place in the whole establishment.

CHAPTER XIX.

KINGSTON TO THE BAY OF QUINTE.

Ernest Town . .	18 Miles.
Adolphus Town . .	14
Lake of the Mountain .	2
	34

THIS is the most interesting excursion in the neighbourhood of Kingston. Adolphus Town is pleasantly situated on the neck of the bay. Its farms are thriving, and cultivation is pushing rapidly through the forests, round the numerous streams and bays, which water every part of the adjacent country. After crossing the ferry, two miles beyond Adolphus Town, I ascended a limestone cliff, to the Lake of the Mountain, immediately on its verge: recent measurements have fixed its height at 175 feet: the lake may be a mile in circumference, and abounds in fish: it formerly discharged itself into the river by a perpendicular fall from the summit of the cliff: the channel of the cascade still remains, but the stream is more profitably, though less tastefully, employed in working a mill. From this Table Land the eye commands a lovely prospect, along the irregular shores of the bay, into which the river Nappanee, and a variety of streams, empty themselves, through a rich country, the dark massiveness of whose forests is already considerably broken, and relieved by settlements and corn-fields. Wheat harvest was just now (August 16th) beginning in this neighbourhood, and generally through

Upper Canada. Excepting the river Nappanee, on which the Mohawks have a settlement, all the names round this bay are right loyal, or royal, from Ernest Town, to Adolphus Town, Prince Edward's Bay, Sophiasberg, Marysberg, and Ameliasberg, on the furthest neck of land at its head. This happy choice, if the inhabitants had any thing to do with it, speaks well for their politicks. Their morals are no less refined, being, to judge from their names of things, modelled on the Platonick system. I requested the fair Maritornes of the inn at Adolphus Town, to feed my horse, while I walked through the village. "But is he ugly?" said she; "handsome enough to be fed," I answered; not then comprehending, that in the language of the country, she elegantly alluded to his moral qualities, of which alone beauty, or deformity may be truly predicated.

The road from Ernest Town to Kingston runs, for the most part, through forest; but the heaviness of the scenery is frequently relieved by the course of some quiet creek, descending betwixt its rocky banks to the lake, which gleams at intervals through the trees. The summer stillness of the landscape seemed forcibly to contrast itself with the sights and sounds of war, which had so lately prevailed there; and, as the inhabitants declare, had frightened all the deer and wolves back to Lake Huron: certain it is, they have lately become very scarce, so the fact is poetically credible.

Ontario's ample breast is still,
And silence walks the distant hill;
And summer barks are gently gliding,
Where lately yonder war-towers riding
Seem'd, like leviathans, to load
The bosom of the groaning flood.
Oft as grey dawn broke o'er the wave,
Each hostile line stern greeting gave,
And oft, beneath the setting sun,
Responsive peal'd each heavy gun.

Then crouch'd the midnight ambuscade,
Within the pine-wood's pillar'd shade,
And Indian war-notes fiercely rose,
A death-dirge to unwary foes,
As burst their murdering attack
Upon the drowsy Bivouack.
Round leagured fort, and post, and ford,
The crashing shell and cannon roar'd,
Till rung th' alarum of the fray,
From old Toronto's* quiet bay,
To where Niagara madly pours
His boiling tide 'twixt mountain shores:—
The eagle, whose broad wing was spread
Above the cataract's wild bed,
Scar'd by unwonted thunders, rose
To hang the nest of his repose,
Where cedars desolately wave
O'er Naniboja's island-grave:†
No wolf his moon-light hunt pursued,
By Erie's forest solitude,
But cowering from his covert ran,
Dreading the lordlier chase of man;
Nor dar'd th' unhunted stag remain
Near his lov'd haunts, and green demesne,
But far from sounds of human slaughter,
He strays by Huron's distant water.

* The Indian name for York, where formerly was an Indian town.

† One of the Manitoulin islands. For the story, vid. Henry's Travels in Canada, in 1760 and 1776, p. 168.

CHAPTER XX.

WESTERN COUNTRY OF NEW YORK.

August 31st,	Sackett's Harbour,	36	Miles. Packet.
Sept. 1st,	Watertown,	10	Waggon.
2d,	Denmark,	17	
	Martinsberg,	14	
3d,	Turin,	9	
	Leyden,	19	
	Steuben,	17	
	Trenton, Utica,	13	
5th,	New Hartford,	4	
	Vernon,	11	
	Chenango,	17	
	Manlius,	6	
	Jamesville,	5	
	Onondago Hollow,	5	
	Marcellus,	10	
	Skaneactas,	6	
6th.	Auburn,	8	
	Aurelius,	4	
	Cayuga,	5	
	Geneva,	13	
	Canandaigua,	16	Stage.
7th,	Burning Spring	9	
	Rochester,	30	Jersey waggon.
8th, & 9th,	Lewistown, by the Bridge road,	89	Stage.
		364	

SACKETT'S harbour has a mean appearance after Kingston; its situation is low, the harbour small, and, fortifications of very indifferent construction, both as to form and materials. The navy-yard consists merely of a narrow tongue of land, the point of which affords just space sufficient for the construc-

tion of one first-rate vessel, with barely room for workshops, and stores, on the remaining part of it. One of the largest vessels in the world is now on the stocks here; her dimensions are 196 feet keel, by 57 beam; she is built over, to preserve her, and may literally be said to be housed: there is an observatory on the top of the building, commanding an extensive view of the lake, and flat wooded country. About a mile up the river, there is another vessel of equal dimensions, built, and housed, literally in the woods. The town consists of a long street, in the direction of the river, with a few smaller ones, crossing it at right angles; it covers less ground than Kingston, and has fewer good houses; it has, however, the advantage of a broad flagged footway, while the good people of Kingston, notwithstanding the thousands expended in their town, and the quarries beneath their feet, submit to walk ancle deep in mud, after every shower. Whence this difference? The people of Kingston are not poor, ignorant, French Canadians, but substantial, active, Scotch or English traders. Probably it lies in this, that the Americans are at home, while the English Canadian considers himself as a temporary resident, for the purpose of making a fortune to spend in his native country.

The fortifications at Sackett's are so inconsiderable, that one is equally surprised that the American government should have left their naval depôt so inadequately protected, and that our army should have failed to take it. An American naval officer, who obligingly showed us through the navy yard, related by what singular accident the place was saved from Sir George Prevost's attack; an anecdote I have since heard confirmed, from a variety of sources. The garrison consisted almost entirely of militia, under General Brown, and ran away on the first cannonade, leaving a few artillery-men in the fort, who were preparing to abandon it; the

buildings of the navy-yard were already on fire. The general having in vain attempted to stop his panick-struck soldiers, crossed their flight, at the end of the street leading towards Brownville, declaring, that if they would run, they should not run towards home, and so turned them off to the Oswego road, which runs obliquely in the direction of the right flank of the British forces, as they had landed from Horse island. The latter perceiving a considerable force moving rapidly in this direction, concluded they had been falsely informed of the strength of the American force, and actually gave up the attack, through fear of being cut off by the runaways. On such contingences depend the laurels of war.

The Government of the United States not only preaches, but practises economy. The establishments at Sackett's are on the most moderate scale. Two regiments of the line, with a proportion of artillery, for garrison duty, 80 men in the navy-yard, and one boat, the Lady of the Lake, in commission: what dreadful havock would this parsimonious government make at Kingston!*

The road from Sackett's to Watertown Forks, at about three miles from the former, leads on the left to Brownville, a thriving little village, on the banks of the Black river, about five miles from its mouth. It is named from general Brown, whose property and residence are here. This gentleman was one of the few fortunate American generals in the late war. He was not bred a military man, but succeeded, from the command of the militia of the district, to the command of the frontier army; I believe, chiefly, because the United States government had no regular general at hand, to take the situation. He is a plain, shrewd man, and carried this charac-

* There were in commission, when I was there, the Regent 74, Montreal, and Star, sloops of war, and Charville, a large, new transport, built since the war, capable of transporting the persons and property of almost all the lake population.

ter into his military operations. He has also the merit of having never unnecessarily aggravated the calamities of war.

From Brownville there is a new road opened, across the head of Chaumont's bay to Gravelly Point, opposite Wolfe's island, (about fourteen miles.)

From Gravelly Point there is a ferry of a mile, to the island, and another, of three, from thence to Kingston. I took this route, in company with a friend, to escape a tedious passage in the packet; and happening to land on Wolfe's island, nearly at sun-set, we had to walk, or rather wade across it, (for 'tis wood and bog from beginning to end, about seven miles,) in the dark; a jaunt I would recommend no one to repeat, without good reason, at the same hour. This new road seems intended to open the Kingston market to the produce of the fertile country of the Black river. At present a few log-huts, and patches of burnt timber, are the only marks cultivation has set on this tract of country. We passed two or three sportsmen, sitting by the road-side, with their rifles, watching for deer. Water-town is an elegant village,* on the Black river, about four miles above Brownville. The basis of the soil is limestone; a broad rock of which, several acres in extent, divides the river, just at the town; the right branch, after breaking into several smaller falls, precipitates itself about 30 feet, and continues its course down a craggy valley; a paper mill stands on the left branch, which descends more gradually. Large masses of rock strew the banks below, as if severed from above by the action of floods and rains; several cedar trees have been left so near the edge, that they have bent down for want of support, and continue clinging, with their roots uppermost.

* The Americans, at least the Yankies, call their towns, villages; applying the term, town, to what we call a township.

A youth, belonging to the village, conducted me under the banks, towards the mill, and lesser fall, to an amphitheatrical range of natural steps, or benches in the rock, with a flat ceiling of limestone, about fifteen feet in breadth; the whole of it abounding in shells.

On the island are numerous fossil impressions of fish, seemingly of the eel kind, with the spines in perfect preservation. Higher up the river is a large cotton mill, beyond which, the banks on both sides continue to rise boldly, thickly cloathed with maple, beech, and elm, whose deep shade, waving over the narrow stream, may probably have given it its name. Watertown contains about 1200 inhabitants, chiefly emigrants from New England. The houses are generally of wood, but tastefully finished: brick, however, is coming fast into use; and begins every where to prevail, as soon as experience has pronounced the soil, or situation of a township to be capable of any considerable improvement.

Here is a good tavern, which, besides the accidental advantage of coming after the Wapping inns of Sackett's, afforded us the rare luxury of a private sitting-room, and a dinner at an English, that is, at our own hour. We found the church-yard worth a walk, not for the elegance of its monuments, or classick beauty of the epitaphs, but for its pleasing site, on a rising ground beyond the village, commanding an interesting view of the falls and course of the river. It is, moreover, neatly kept; a mark of respect to its silent tenants, too frequently neglected in the States. Within a few miles of Watertown the country rises boldly, presenting a refreshing contrast of hill and valley, to the flat, heavy woods, through which we had been labouring from Sackett's. The road, turning near Denmark, ascends the valley of the Black River by its left bank. The banks on either side are lofty, presenting, on the opposite shore, unbroken and majestick masses of forest: on

the western side the soil is good, and coming rapidly into cultivation. A few pine-barrens occasionally intervene, upon sand mixed with blocks of talkous granite, rounded, and scattered down the water-courses.

Indian corn seems the staple grain, as it generally is, on lands newly cleared, but almost the whole of this year's crop has been destroyed by July and August frosts. On the 28th of August there was ice at Kingston Mills, $\frac{1}{10}$ of an inch in thickness, and this inclemency was general, as far as Carolina. Here and there, I observed fields that had escaped; and sometimes a small portion of a field would be untouched, while the remainder was as brown, as if scorched by fire. On examining these exceptions more narrowly, I was induced to believe, they were all indebted, for their escape, to a situation more or less protected from the N. E. winds, which by sweeping over deserts of ice, and forest, from the pole, become the chief agents of cold through the whole continent. The inhabitants, indeed, seemed more inclined to ascribe these escapes to the proximity of streams, which had mitigated the frost; but frequently the bottom of a field had suffered, while the slope escaped: A valley crop was sometimes cut off, and a hill-crop uninjured. Betwixt Sackett's and Watertown, I observed several fields sloping to the road, (that is facing nearly south,) with a broad belt of timber, on the crest of the hills behind them, perfectly green and flourishing, while the whole valley, from Martinsberg to Utica, down which the road forms a N. W. funnel, or wind course, was blighted, except where occasional angles, or returns, afforded a partial shelter. If these observations should be correct, it would seem no injudicious precaution, in clearing lands, to leave a sufficient belt of timber to shut out the winds most likely to prove fatal; that is, the N. E. and N. W.

from which quarters unseasonable frosts may always be expected.

Utica stands on the right bank of the Mohawk, over which it is approached by a covered wooden bridge, of some length. The appearance of the town is highly prepossessing: the streets are spacious; the houses large and well-built, and the stores (the name given to shops throughout America)* as well supplied, and as handsomely fitted up, as those of New York or Philadelphia.† There are two hotels, on a large scale; for one of which, the York House, I can answer, as being equal in arrangement and accommodation, to any hotel beyond the Atlantick: it is kept by an Englishman from Bath. The number of inhabitants is reckoned at from 3 to 4000; they maintain four churches—one Episcopal, one Presbyterian, and two Welch. To judge from the contents of three large book-stores, their literary taste inclines chiefly towards theology and church history. I encountered but one effusion of native genius, in the shape of two verses, under three grim faces, painted on a tobacconist's sign-board, as follows:—

"We three are engag'd in one cause;
"I snuffs, I smokes, and I chaws."

The town is laid out upon a very extensive scale, of which a small part only is yet completed; but little doubt is entertained by the inhabitants, that ten years will accomplish the whole. Fifteen have not past since the traveller found here no other trace of habitation than a solitary log-house, built for the occasional reception of merchandise, on its way down

* May not this term be traced to the ship stores of the early colonists?

† I should compare them with our second class of London shops, some may even rank with the first.

the Mohawk. The overflowing population of New-England, fixing its exertions on a new, and fertile soil, has, in these few years, effected this change, and goes on, working the miracles of industry and freedom, from the Mohawk to the Missouri.

Utica has great advantages of situation, independent of its soil, being placed nearly at the point of junction betwixt the waters of the Lakes and of the Atlantick. The Mohawk communicates with Wood Creek, by a canal, from Rome, fifteen miles north of Utica; and Wood Creek falls into the Oneida Lake, which is joined to that of Ontario, by the Oswego river. Should the proposed canal betwixt Buffalo and Rome be cut, it will add very considerably to these advantages, by drawing much of the produce of the Western country in this direction. The expense of this undertaking is variously estimated at from 6 to 10,000,000 dollars; and the expense of carriage at about six dollars per ton. Commissioners have been appointed to survey the line of communication, and the canal is already traced on paper. As far, however, as I could understand, the route of the St. Lawrence would be preferred, should the policy of our Government incline to give their commerce ingress and egress on moderate terms.

With Utica commences that succession of flourishing villages, and settlements, which renders this tract of country the astonishment of travellers. That so large a portion of the soil should, on an average period of less than twenty years, be cleared, brought into cultivation, and have a large population settled on it, is in itself sufficiently surprising; but this feeling is considerably increased, when we consider the character of elegant opulence with which it every where smiles on the eye. Each village teems, like a hive, with activity and enjoyment: the houses, taken in the mass, are on a large scale, for (excepting the few primitive log-huts still surviving) there is

scarcely, one, below the appearance of an opulent London tradesman's country box; nor is their style of building very unlike these, being generally of wood, painted white, with green doors and shutters, and porches, or verandas in front. The face of the country is beautifully varied; on the left of the road, lofty ridges divide the Lake streams from the head waters of the Chenango, and Oriskany rivers; and again, shooting up towards the north, form the steep banks of the Canserage Creek, and the wooded heights, which embosom Onondago Hollow. The shores of the small lakes are picturesquely formed in the same manner, and a succession of ridges is thus continued, till they terminate towards Lake Ontario, in the Niagara heights, and mingle, on the south, with the spurs of the Aileganies, round the sources of the Susquehannah. The timber of this country is mostly oak, elm, ash, maple, hickory, bass, hemlock, and butternut.

Betwixt Onondago and Skaneactas, our stage-party, which had consisted of several honest farmers, received an addition, in the person of a little man in grey, who might have well passed for what he was, a barber, had he not, early in the drive, begun to figure in the character of an apostle; first of all, by pertinent remarks on the efficacy of the inward light; and secondly, by objurgating the coachman for his prophane language, who revenged himself, not only by sulky expressions of disbelief in the apostolick rights of his reprover, but infinitely more to our mortification, by considerably slackening his pace, as if to afford full leisure for our regeneration. To console us under this misfortune, and as we now began to ascend a rather long hill, the barber, taking off his hat, and turning his face to us, said; "Gentlemen, if you have no objection "I'll sing you a hymn; I have not a good voice for it, but the hymn is a very fine one, and will shorten the hill." He began accordingly, and soon induced us to as-

sent unanimously to the first part of his proposition, relative to his voice; the second seemed by no means equally convincing; and the third was altogether so dubious, that we determined, on any similar occasion, to try whether a hill would not be better shortened by walking, than singing, up it. He had visited the chief town of the Onondago Indians, in this neighbourhood, and described them as extremely reserved, averse to communication with strangers, and closely addicted to their old forms of worship. "They would neither receive a preacher," he said, "nor drink spirits;" facts, which he seemed to consider equally indicative of hardened idolatry.

Mr. Jefferson, in his Notes, quoting different enumerations of the Indian tribes, gives the last estimate, (from Dodge, in 1779,) of the Onondagoes at 230. This is much below what they are at present reckoned at,* in this part of the country.

Skaneactas is pleasantly situated at the head of the lake from which it is named. We stopped here for the night, and admired, by a clear moon, the sloping banks, descending with alternate promontories of wood, and cultivated land, to its smooth silvery waters, whilst here and there rose the tall mast of some trading schooner, anchoring under the shore.

Cayuga, besides its agreeable site, is remarkable for a bridge over the head of the Cayuga lake, a mile in length: it is built on piles, and level; calculating from the time it took to pass it, I should think it rather over-rated at a mile; three-fourths is probably about the true length. Betwixt Cayuga and Geneva, is the flourishing little village of Waterloo, born and christened since the battle. Geneva contains many elegant houses, beautifully placed on the rising shore, at the head of the Geneva lake; a situa-

* I have heard the Onondagoes estimated at 1000.

tion indicating that the name was not bestowed at random.

From Geneva to Canandaigua, a tract of hill and vale extends for 16 miles, with only two houses. I neglected to observe accurately, or enquire whether the soil was of inferiour quality: should this not be the case, this note would afford a traveller of 1820, an exact mean of estimating the growth of its improvement in 10 years. Canandaigua is a town of villas, built on the rising shore of the Canandaigua lake, which terminates the picture, at the bottom of the main street; the lower part of this street is occupied by stores and warehouses, but the upper, to the length of nearly two miles, consists of villas, or ornamented cottages, tastefully finished with colonnades, porches, and verandas, each within its own garden, or pleasure ground. The prospect down this long vista to the lake, is charming; if it has a defect, not to the eye, but to the mind, it arises from a consideration of the perishable materials with which these elegant buildings are constructed, impressing an idea of instability, like pleasure houses raised for an occasional festival. A fertile soil, and industrious population, are, however, bases on which brick will succeed to wood, and stone to brick.

From Canandaigua we turned from the main road nine miles S. W. to visit what is called "the burning spring," lately discovered. This tract of country is beautifully undulating, and richly cultivated: I was particularly pleased with the style of its clearing, being neither encumbered with heavy masses of wood, nor, like most newly cleared tracts, stript to nakedness, but exhibiting the rich, yet light studding of timber we so much admire in many English counties. Perhaps the change from a dusty jolting stage to an open easy waggon, or Dearborn, as they are called in this State,* disposed us to regard the landscape with more than usual complacency.

* The body and carriage resemble a small waggon, in which a seat is placed for two persons, on wooden springs. Some-

Turning a little from the road, we entered a small, but thick wood of pine and maple, enclosed within a narrow ravine, the steep sides of which, composed of dark clay-slate, rise to the height of about 40 feet.

Down this glen, whose width, at its entrance, may be about 60 yards, trickles a scanty streamlet, wandering from side to side, as scattered rocks, or fallen trees, afford, or deny it passage. We had advanced on its course about 50 yards, when close under the rocks of the right bank, we perceived a bright red flame, burning briskly on its waters. Pieces of lighted wood being applied to different adjacent spots, a space of several yards was immediately in a blaze. Being informed by our guide, that a repetition of this phenomenon might be seen higher up the glen, we scrambled on, for about 100 yards, and directed in some degree by a strong smell of sulphur, applied our match to several places, with the same effect. The rocky banks here approach so closely, as to leave little more than a course to the stream, whose stony channel formed our path: sulphur in several places oozed from them abundantly. We advanced about 70 yards further, when we found the glen terminate in a perpendicular rock, about 30 feet high, overgrown with moss, and encumbered with fallen pine trees, through which the drops, at this dry period of the season, scarcely trickled. These fires, we were told, continue burning unceasingly, unless extinguished by accident. The phenomenon was discovered by the casual rolling of some lighted embers from the top of the bank, while it was clearing for cultivation. In the intensity and duration of the flame, it probably exceeds any thing of the kind yet discovered: I could, however, find no traces of a spring on its whole course: the water on which the

times there are two seats, one behind the other. They obtained the name of Dearborn, from the General's taking the field in one.

first fire was burning, had indeed a stagnant appearance, and probably was so, from the failure of the current; but it had no peculiar taste or smell, was of the ordinary temperature, and but a few inches deep; a few bubbles indicated the passage of the inflammable air through it: on applying a match to the adjacent parts of the dry rock, a momentary flame played along it also. These circumstances induced us to consider the bed of the streamlet, as accidentally affording an outlet to the inflammable air from below, and the water, as in some degree performing the part of a candle-wick, by preventing its immediate dispersion into the atmosphere.* I should observe, that there are considerable sulphur springs nine miles N. W. of Canandaigua; and it may perhaps be worth noticing, that a line drawn through both, would strike, in a S. S. W. direction, the warm spring near Huntingdon, in Pennsylvania; the Berkely medicinal waters on the Potomac; and thence, following the course of the mountains, S. W. the hot springs of Bath, and sulphur springs in the Allegany.

Rochester is built immediately on the great falls of the Genesee, about eight miles above its entrance into Lake Ontario. It is four years since the yankey axeman began to dispossess the wood nymphs, or rather the wolves and bears, of this neighbourhood; and the town now contains 100 good houses, furnished with all the conveniences of life; several comfortable taverns, a large cotton-mill, and some large corn-mills. Town lots fetch from 500 to 1000 dollars, and are rising in value rapidly. The whole village is as a summer hive, full of life, bustle, and activity. Its site is grand: the Genesee rushes through it, like an arrow, over a bed of limestone, and precipitates itself down three ledges of rock, of 93, 30,

* Mr. Jefferson, in his Notes, p. 51, describes what I imagine to be a similar vapour, near the junction of the Elk river with the great Kanhawa.

and 76 feet, within the distance of a mile and a half from the town: the two first ledges are of limestone; the basis of the third, as well as the adjacent banks, is of the same red clay-slate, which every where forms the bed of the St. Lawrence. This lime-stone ridge, which cannot but be considered as a continuation of that of Niagara, crosses the river therefore at the second, and then striking in a S. E. direction, divides the waters of the small lakes from those of Oneida and Ontario. The immediate vicinity of Rochester is still an unbroken forest, consisting of oak, hickory, ash, beech, bass, elm, and walnut: there is a black walnut tree betwixt the town and the great fall, twenty-four feet in its girth. The wild tenants of these woods have naturally retired before the sound of cultivation: there are, however, a few wolves and bears still in the neighbourhood; one of the latter lately seized a pig close to the town. Racoons, porcupines, squirrels, black and grey, and foxes, are still numerous. The hogs have done good service in destroying the rattle snakes, which are already becoming rare. Pigeons, quails, and blackbirds abound. At Rochester, the line of settled country in this direction terminates; from hence to Lewistown are 80 miles of wilderness, but of wilderness big with promise.

The traveller, halting on the verge of these aboriginal shades, is inclined to pause in thought, and reconsider the interesting scenes through which he has been passing. They are such as reason must admire, for they are the result of industry, temperance, and freedom, directed by a spirit of sound knowledge, flowing through all conditions of men, and giving birth to a state of society, in which their is neither poverty, nor oppression, nor complaining. This thought pleases, in a world so full of wo and bitterness; it does more, it thrills exultingly through the heart; and yet I fancied something wanting:—it was the mellow touching of that great artist Time:—every thing

wears too much the gloss of newness.—Here are no memorials of the past, for the whole country is of to-day; five, ten, or at the utmost, twenty years ago, where are now corn-fields, towns and villages, was one mass of forest. Certain pains-taking New-Englanders, having discovered the fertility of the soil, sat down to clear, till, settle, and improve it, and are now reaping the just harvest of their labours.—Imagination folds her wing over such a history, and we feel with Moore,

> "No bright remembrance o'er the fancy plays;
> No classick dream, no star of other days,
> Has left that visionary glory here,
> That relick of its light so soft and dear,
> Which gilds, and hallows e'en the rudest scene,
> The humblest shed where genius once has been."

I remember visiting the convent of "Our Lady of the Rock," near Cintra in Portugal. It was founded by Emanuel, to commemorate the return of Vasco de Gama. For three centuries, the matin hymn had ascended daily from its mountain pinnacle, unmixed with sound of earth, when the step of the invader silenced and dispersed the ministers of its altar. There was one old man left; he was eighty years of age, and had forsaken the world at the period of the great earthquake of Lisbon. The effects of a moral convulsion, more devastating than earthquakes, had reached him, after fifty years of seclusion. What remembrances, what reflections crowded within the walls of this little monastery! My feeble conductor, as he glided through the forsaken cloister, in the white habit of his order, seemed like an embodied spirit of the past, bearing record of the revolutions of nature, and of empires.—But to proceed through the woods.

The road from Rochester to Lewistown has obtained the appellation of the Ridge road, from the circumstance of its running, generally, on the secondary

bank of Lake Ontario. This bank is a gravelly ridge, seldom exceeding 15 feet in height, and is generally from five to eight miles from the present shore. The primitive limestone ridge, forming the Niagara and Genesee falls, runs parallel to it, but further from the shore. The disposition of the ground, on the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence, is exactly similar, but has been less spoken of, because inhabited by a less inquisitive, and speculating race of people. Sixteen miles west of Rochester, there is an Irish settlement, on Sandy Creek; iron is said to be found there. The average value of land is from 10 to 15 dollars an acre, and rises rapidly, as the country settles. One thousand families of settlers crossed Rochester bridge in 30 days, during the last summer.

The soil cannot be called first rate, being generally sandy, with a mixture of gravel; it however produces oak timber in great abundance: a tract of 30 or 40 miles along the ridge road, is called, "Oak Orchard."—The average return which the crops make on the line of the small lakes, is about 25 for one; in some instances it exceeds this: a gentleman of Bloomfield town, stated the return of part of his lands, at 40 for one: in Lower Canada it seldom exceeds six or seven. Notwithstanding the bad state of the road, the stage waggon runs from Rochester to Lewistown in two days: this journey is heavy enough; it is sometimes necessary to alight, and walk several miles, or suffer a dislocation of limbs, in jolting over causeways, or logged roads, formed of pine, or oak trees laid crossways, without much regard to uniformity of size, or the comfort of those who may have to travel over them. Occasionally a wild deer starts from the brink of some overshadowed creek, and, at different intervals, square patches seem cut out of the forest, in the centre of which low log-huts have been constructed, without aid of saw, or plane, and surrounded by stumps of trees, black with the fires, kindled for the purpose of clearing. These

fires are still usually burning, in some quarter round the house; so that the whole settlement, betwixt the remains of former conflagrations, and the volumes of blue smoke, still curling through the massive woods, has a very Cimmerian aspect. While he clears his land, the American settler seldom neglects to make potash: two men will make a ton of it in a month: its average value may be reckoned at 150 dollars: so that the land repays him the value of his labour at the outset. The stages meet, and put up for the night at a log-hut, dignified with the name of an inn, about 40 miles from Rochester. Our accommodations were of the lowest, but our charges, of the highest rate; for, as our host sagaciously observed, "were he not to charge high, how was he ever to build a better house?" By this rule we were compelled to contribute to posterity. Lewistown was one of the frontier villages burnt during the war, to retaliate upon the Americans for the destruction of Newark. It has been since rebuilt, and all marks of its devastation effaced. It is agreeably situated at the foot of the Limestone Ridge, on the steep bank of the St. Lawrence, which here rushes with a boiling, eddying torrent, from the Falls to Lake Ontario. Lewistown, notwithstanding its infancy, and remote situation, contains several good stores, to which I was obliged to have recourse for some trifling articles, during my stay at Queenston, on the Canadian side; particularly for a pair of shoes, when I accompanied a friend to get his tea-pot mended; Queenston affording neither tinker, nor shoemaker.

CHAPTER XXI.

NIAGARA FRONTIER.

FORT GEORGE TO FORT ERIE.

Queenston	7 Miles.
Bridgewater, or Falls of Niagara	7
Chippewa	1 1-2
Fort Erie	18
	33 1 2

FORT GEORGE TO YORK, BY THE OUTLET OF BURLINGTON.

	Queenston	7
	St. David's	2
	Twelve Mile Creek	12
	Twenty ditto.	8
Oct. 4,	Forty ditto.	10
	Stony Creek	11
	The Outlet	7
5,	Hopkins' Inn	5
	Twelve Mile Creek	4
	Sixteen ditto.	5
	Credit River	8
	Etobico River	6
	Mocaco River	4
	Humber River	2
	York	6 1-2
		97 1-2

BY ANCASTER AND DUNDAS.

Stony Creek to Ancaster	14
Dundas	4
Hopkins's Inn	10
Ancaster to the Grand River, and Indian Settlements.	18

The peninsula included generally betwixt the two Lakes and the Niagara river, obtained, during the war, and still keeps, the name of the Niagara Frontier. The Ouse, or Grand River, the banks of which are inhabited by the Six Nations, may be considered its western boundary, and Burlington Bay its limit to the north. The Limestone Ridge, which we have observed skirting the road from the Falls of the Genesee, crosses the Niagara at Queenston, and, following the direction of the shores of Lake Ontario, as far as Ancaster, divides this frontier irregularly, nearly from east to west. At Ancaster it turns in the direction of the Lake, and having skirted the Bay of Burlington with a magnificent amphitheatre, strikes eastward, till it has crossed the Humber: but whether it afterwards proceeds in the direction of Kingston, or bends northwardly, I am not able to determine; though from distant views, and some other circumstances, I am inclined to believe it takes the former course. Its height may be averaged generally at from 200 to 250 feet: it is every where very steep; in some places nearly perpendicular; and when viewed from below, being covered with trees to its summit, seems stretched across the country, like a magnificent screen of verdure. The whole frontier may thus be considered as divided into two plateaux: the upper, on a level with Lake Erie; the lower, sloping from the foot of the ridge to Lake Ontario. There is a marked geological distinction betwixt these two tracts. Immediately below Queenston all traces of limestone disappear. The river banks, which are here about seventy feet in height, are composed of the same red clay-slate which seems generally to constitute the bed of the St. Lawrence, from hence downwards, beyond Quebec. The sides of the different creeks round the head of the lake, from Queenston to York, exhibit similar strata, nor does a single limestone rock appear to the eastward of the Ridge; from thence, however, to Lake Erie, it pre-

dominates almost exclusively, and constitutes the basis of a soil, famous through Canada for its fertility. The whole of this frontier is distinguished by a peculiar mildness of climate. Volney observes, (tom. i. p. 137.)—

"A Niagara, bien au-dessus de Montréal, les neiges sont de deux mois encore plus courtes que dans cette ville: ce qui est precisement le contraire de la règle générale des niveaux observée sur le reste de la côte."

And again, p. 166, he observes the great increase of cold from Lake Erie, west; "so that in the neighbourhood of Lake St. Clair, the only fruits which will ripen are apples and winter pears;" whereas at Niagara, peaches are raised in such abundance as to be the common food for hogs during the autumn; capsicums, melons, and all sorts of gourds, are also abundantly raised in the open ground.

M. Volney is inclined to attribute this difference of climate, to the greater or less prevalence of the S. and S. W. winds, which, he says, become less frequent round Lake St. Clair: but in addition to any general reason of this kind, there is a peculiar circumstance in the locale of this frontier, which has probably a more direct effect. The N. W. wind, as has been already observed, is found to be the great agent of cold through nearly the whole of the American continent. It seems no less certain that it derives its chilling powers from the unbounded tract of frozen, uncultivated country over which it sweeps. Before, however, it arrives at the Niagara frontier, it has past diagonally across both Lake Superiour and Lake Huron, and must therefore have lost some portion of its intense cold in its passage. To prove the correctness of this observation, it is necessary that the difference of climate should be co-extensive with the range of the N. W. wind, under these peculiar circumstances; and this seems to be the case. A line drawn N. W. from York, would cross the narrowest extremity of Lake Huron, and sweep the

shore, instead of crossing the expanse, of Lake Superiour: now York is known to have longer and severer winters than the frontier, though but sixty miles N. W. of it. In like manner, a line drawn N. W. from Lake St. Clair, would fall beyond Lake Huron, and cross but a small portion of Lake Superiour; the whole country, therefore, from this lake west, may be expected, as Volney observes to be the case, to feel an unmitigated winter: the favoured portion lying betwixt these two points, on both sides of Lake Erie.* Accordingly, a decided preference is given, by settlers, to this neighbourhood: on our side, the banks of the Grand River were long since chosen by the Six Nations for their fertility; and from thence to the Thames, and Long Point, are the finest farms in the province. The whole of the American side is rapidly settling, and Erie, built on the site of the old fort, is already a considerable town.

The northern point of the frontier, at the junction of the Niagara† with Lake Ontario, is occupied by Fort Missisaga, built opposite to the American Fort, Niagara, which it is thought to command: it is star-shaped, and intended to be faced with stone, should the expense be deemed convenient. From hence to Fort George there is about a mile of flat ground, mostly occupied by the village of Newark, which has in great part been rebuilt. The houses are of wood, and being generally placed on frames, without foundations, seem to give a stranger no more reason to expect to find them standing when he next travels that way, than the tents of an Arab, or the booths of an annual fair. There is one large inn, of a gay exterior; but being commonly crowded with guests, is half finished, half furnished, and miserably dirty:

* It seems probable that the whole of the Genesee country shares in this advantage.

† The St. Lawrence, betwixt the two lakes, is commonly called the Niagara.

beds, indeed, are in no more than comfortable abundance; it being no easy matter to squeeze betwixt each two of the dozen, crowded into a room.

Betwixt Newark and Queenston the river is separated from the road by a light wood, through which it breaks on the sight at intervals, frequently with the top-sails of a schooner gliding just above its banks, and the tufted woods of the American shore beyond. On the right there is an unbroken succession of luxuriant orchards, corn-fields, and farm-houses; a rare and interesting sight in Canada. Queenston is built on the river's edge, at the foot of the heights; it was embosomed in peach orchards before the war, but they were all felled, to aid our defensive operations, so that the vicinity looks bare and war-worn. The heights are still crowned by a redoubt, and the remains of batteries, raised to defend the passage of the river. It was near to one of these, the gallant Sir Isaac Brocke was killed on the 13th of October, 1812, while with 400 men he gallantly opposed the landing of 1500 Americans, the whole of whom were afterwards captured by General Sheaffe.—But silence is now on the hill, and from the crumbling field-work, the stranger's eye dwells with admiration on the winding course of the Niagara; the rich adjacent country; the opposite fortresses at its mouth; the blue expanse of Lake Ontario, with the white buildings of York just glimmering on the horizon; and beyond them a continuation of the same heights on which he stands, fading indistinctly into the sky.

At Queenston I commenced a new, and infinitely more convenient mode of travelling, viz. in my own carriage; this being a light Jersey waggon, (a machine I have already described, by the name of a Dearborn,) for which I gave at second hand, 130 dollars; it was consequently above the million in appearance. My steed, a hardy Canadian, bred in the neighbourhood, cost me 70 dollars; and with such

preparation, a man may travel comfortably from Penobscot to New Orleans.

It was a fine autumnal morning, (October 4,) when I put my equipage in motion from Queenston, towards York, accompanied by a friend, and a favourite pointer. The road follows the line of the heights, from which it is separated by an open meadow, studded with clumps of trees, over many of which the wild vine had woven natural bowers, but its graceful festooning is all its merit; for the grapes are small and sour. The peculiarity of the Genesee road is renewed here, or rather it is the same feature continued, and runs along a second bank, about twenty feet high, which follows generally the direction of the ridge, at a distance, varying from a quarter of a mile to a league. This little elevation gives a pleasing view, to the right of a fertile country, newly redeemed from the forest, while the steep, and sometimes perpendicular wall of limestone, wooded to its summit, magnificently bars the prospect on the left.

Many small streams descend from the mountain to the lake, and where they have worn their channel through the second bank, cause pretty sharp dips in the road. They are all numerically, and vaguely enough, named by their once reputed distances from Fort George, as the two, four, six, eight, ten, twelve Mile Creeks. The village of St. David's stands on the Four Mile Creek, and seems retiring into a nook of the mountain. A newspaper is printed here, and edited with ability: there are also two saddlers' shops, at one of which I purchased a neat single harness for thirty dollars, when I set up my equipage. There are several miles of pine forest betwixt St. David's and the Twelve Mile Creek, which, though little interesting to an agriculturist, are not, I think, without a charm for the traveller whose business is merely to hunt out any combination of forms and colours, in which either eyes, or fancy may find their account. Its smooth brown flooring; straight trunks,

shooting up like endless vistas of Gothick columns; the vaulting of dark foliage above them; the universal stillness, and even the resinous fragrance, so powerful on a hot day, combine to produce in the mind a solemn, and almost religious feeling. "Illa proceritas sylvæ, et secretum loci, et admiratio umbræ, fidem numinis facit." There is a scattered hamlet and court-house round the steep banks of the Twelve Mile Creek; we stopped to bait our steed and selves a few miles beyond, at a solitary log hut in the centre of a forest; where, besides oats, we found excellent spruce beer made on the spot, and gingerbread cakes, as the sign specified, being underwritten, "Cakes and Beer." We arrived at the Forty Mile Creek in the dusk of the evening; the principal tavern was full, so we went to the second, where we were somewhat crossly received by an old Irish landlady; luckily, however, she recovered her good temper on perceiving us to be English officers, a species of animal she had learnt, during the war, to treat with civility: her son had served in the militia, in token of which he was most obstreperously loyal, both in speech and song, during the whole evening. A fowl was speedily consigned from its slumbers to the pot, and served up, with the et-ceteras of the tea-table. The little room, or rather closet, in which we supped, contained a bed for one of us; the other was to sleep in the chamber above: an inspection, however, of the family loft so termed, induced me to alter this arrangement, by having my bed made up in the closet, which just held the two, and standing room betwixt them. I was also forced to make another infringement on the customs of the house, by requesting an additional sheet to the one, usually deemed sufficient. My friend walked out before breakfast, and shot, immediately round the house, several quail, a brace of woodcocks, and a partridge. The quails frequent the buck-wheat, at this season, in great numbers; we frequently saw bevies of them

by the road side. The American woodcock is smaller than ours; its breast and belly are of a dirtyish pink. The partridge is more properly a species of pheasant, very nearly resembling our hen-pheasant, both in size and plumage, and is seldom found but in woods. On setting off to continue our journey, we took the pointer into the waggon, upon which our host exclaimed "I'll be hanged, if you Englishmen are not fonder of your dogs than of your wives;"—nor would this be any misplaced degree of affection, were we all wived like mine host. The road continues to Stony Creek, following, as before, the direction of the heights, with little diversity of landscape, except such as arises from their occasional windings, and darkly-wooded recesses. At Stony Creek it breaks off to the right, towards the lake, and approaches the outlet of Burlington-bay by a long neck of flat deep sand, thinly covered with coarse grass, and a few bushes and dwarf oaks. There is a pleasing view from the bridge, up the bay to Burlington, which is built on an elevated peninsula: beyond it lies another small lake, aptly denominated "Coot's Paradise," from which the land rises to the ridge, whose bold sweeping line encloses, with an amphitheatre of woods, the little village of Dundas, and all the country in that direction. We stopped to bait at a tavern of a substantial appearance, near the bridge, and looking to Lake Ontario. Our host, whose portly figure reflected no disgrace on the appearance of his house, received us with bustling importance. "What could we have to eat?"—"Whatever you please," was the reply, he had every thing in the house—"Well then a veal cutlet, as we are in haste." He went in, and presently returned, protesting his wife was quite out of humour at our thinking of veal cutlets, when the veal had been killed a fortnight.—"Well then, we are not particular, a pork chop will do"—but the pork chop only increased the storm.—"How could we expect

a pork chop when the pork was all salted?"—"Body of us, mine host," then said I, in the feelings of Sancho Panza under similar vexations, "what can we have?"—Why we could have bread and cheese, or butter, if we preferred it; and bread and butter it was, seasoned however by Bonniface's eulogium on his own generosity in keeping a tavern, which he did, (he said,) not for the sake of profit, but because his feelings would not suffer him to send travellers from his door, albeit his wife was much vexed at this benevolence.

A little way from this tavern stands the house built by our government for the Mohawk chief, Brandt, in recompense of his services during the American war. It is a large sash-windowed house, opposite to the lake, and superiour in appearance to most houses in the Province. His wife was living in it at this time, but his son, with whom I had become acquainted at Kingston, was at York. He is a fine young man, of gentlemanly manners, and appearance, speaks and writes English agreeably and correctly, and dresses in the English fashion, retaining only the mocassins of his Indian habit. He served during the war, among his own people, with the rank and pay of a Lieutenant, which he still holds.

It took us three hours to accomplish the five miles of road, betwixt the head of the lake and the main road, called Dundas-street, which runs from York towards Lake Erie, and Amherstsberg. We halted for the night at Hopkins's inn, where we found all the cleanliness and comfort a traveller can desire, with the alloy of but one little accident. Our game was to be cooked for supper; a thought flashed us like lightning, while the preparations were going on in an outer room; my friend rushed out, it was too late; the sacrilege had been committed; the woodcocks had been profanely gutted, and were tossed ignobly, to be stewed in a common pot with the other birds: their excellence, however, though thus bar-

barously degraded, could not be extinguished, and our appetites paid a just tribute to merit in disguise.

The face of the country, from the head of the lake to York, is less varied than that of the Niagara frontier. The thread of settlements is slender, and frequently interrupted by long tracts of hemlock-swamp, and pine barrens. The banks of the several streams which descend to the lake, are, like those of the frontier, bold and steep, exhibiting strata of crumbling red clay-slate. The river Credit is an Indian reserve, well stocked with salmon: we found a family encamped on its banks, drying fish.

There is a good bridge over the rocky bed of the Humber, and large mills near it. The surface of the whole country seems flat; I did not observe a single hill, or inequality, but such as have been evidently formed by streams, descending over a soil little tenacious; and as the banks of all these are very lofty, there is probably a considerable, though gradual, slope of the whole country down to the lake, the shores of which have no elevation worthy of notice. From the Humber to York is a uniform tract of sandy pine-barren, unsusceptible of culture; a change of feature, probably connected with the ancient history and revolutions of the lake.

York being the seat of government for the upper province, is a place of considerable importance in the eyes of its inhabitants; to a stranger, however, it presents little more than about 100 wooden houses, several of them conveniently, and even elegantly built, and I think one, or perhaps two, of brick. The publick buildings were destroyed by the Americans; but as no ruins of them are visible, we must conclude, either, that the destruction exceeded the desolation of Jerusalem, or that the loss to the arts is not quite irreparable. I believe they did not leave one stone upon another, for they did not find one. Before the city, a long flat tongue of land runs into the lake, called Gibraltar Point, probably from being

very *unlike* Gibraltar. York wholly useless, either as a port, or military post, would sink into a village, and the seat of government be transferred to Kingston, but for the influence of those, whose property in the place would be depreciated by the change.

My friend having returned to Queenston by water, I left York with no companion but my dog, frequently repeating, as my wain dragged heavily over the logged roads, which cross the swampy woods round the Mocaco and Etobico, the verses of Petrarca:

"Solo e pensoso i più deserti Campi
"Vo misurando à passi tardi, e lenti."

Nothing looks less cheerful than the hut of a primitive settler, especially when isolated in the mass of a dark heavy forest; yet it is the first glance only which is unpleasant, the second shews present comfort, and progressional improvement. I do not remember to have seen one of them abandoned, except for a better house: there are more ruined cottages in the vicinity of Cork, than in all North America.

A few miles beyond Hopkins's inn, the road ascends the limestone ridge, and sometimes runs so near the edge of it, that by stepping aside a few yards, the traveller perceives the level country he is traversing to be a terrace, about 300 feet above the level of the lake. I descended by a road, so precipitous, as nearly to resemble, at its summit, an irregular flight of steps, to the village of Dundas, enclosed within the rich woods and angles of the heights: in fact, its territory is so much contracted by them, that it will admit of little increase of population; and there is about it a stagnant aspect, very unlike that of its neighbour Ancaster. To reach Ancaster, the ridge, or mountain, as it is called here, must "with toilsome march" be again ascended. A stream gushing from the rocks above, turns several

mills by the roadside, and forms a pleasing cascade in the glen near its fountain. Having mounted the height, and entered the village, I was agreeably surprised to find a tavern, superiour both in size and appearance to any thing I had expected in a village so remote from any great line of travelling. On calling for the ostler, I was quietly answered, "he would come as soon as he had taken his tea;" so I managed for myself; not caring, after a fatiguing day's journey, that my horse should wait his independent leisure, and the uncertain close of a tea-table conversation.

The landlady, a very obliging woman, apologized afterwards for this inattention, on the ground of the impossibility of procuring good servants; and I mention this incident, one of many similar, to shew that this free and easy behaviour of the lower classes, which English travellers so frequently complain of in the States, and attribute to their Republican principles, is common enough under our own Government, whenever the supply of labour is disproportionate to the demand for it.

Ancaster has a smiling aspect: new shops and houses, superiour in size, and architecture, to the old, are building rapidly. Its site is picturesquely grand, and the neighbourhood thickly spread with improving farms. Ancaster merits to be the metropolis of Upper Canada.

A gentleman, to whom young Brandt had given me a letter of introduction, having some friend travelling towards the Grand River, I set off, the next morning after my arrival, for the Indian settlements.

CHAPTER XXII.

INDIANS OF THE GRAND RIVER.

The powerful Indian confederacy, known by the name of Massawoomics, or Five Nations, originally occupied the whole of the country betwixt the lakes, and the Allegany ridges, from the sources of the Ohio to the banks of the Hudson. They were known, and dreaded by the French Canadians, under the name of Iroquois. "Each village, or canton," writes Lahontan, in 1684, "contains 14,000 souls, of whom 1500 bear arms." In 1712, they received the Tuscaroras into their confederacy, and made them the sixth nation. "All the confederated tribes," says Morse, "except the Oneidas, and Tuscaroras, sided with the British in the late war, and fought against the Americans." In 1779 they were attacked by general Sullivan, and driven to Niagara; their numbers were at this time estimated by Dodge at 1580. At Niagara, many of them died, "from being obliged," says Morse, "to live on salted provisons." The remainder had the lands round the Grand River assigned them for their support, by our government, where they have since resided, with the Delawares and Missisagas, joint sufferers in the same cause; the latter of whom have given their name to the new fort opposite to Fort Niagara. It is probable, however, from the villages of the Six Nations still to be found within the territory of the State of New York, that, besides, the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, portions of the other four tribes, in op-

position to the general disposition of their nation, attached themselves to the American cause: a species of national disunion, resulting from an excess of individual freedom, which has, on every occasion of hostilities, whetted the tomahawk of kindred warriours, for the destruction of their own clan.

The Mohawks have always been esteemed the head of the confederacy. They were strongly attached to the British interest, and first followed Sir William Johnson into Canada, under their chieftain, "the Monster Brandt." The Monster had, however, some good qualities. He accustomed his people to the arts of civilized life, and made farmers of them. He built a church, and translated one of the Gospels into the Mohawk language; for, like Clovis, and many of the early Anglo-Saxon, and Danish Christians, he contrived to unite much religious zeal with the practices of natural ferocity. His grave is to be seen under the walls of his church. I have mentioned one of his sons: he has also a daughter living, who would not disgrace the circles of European fashion: her face, and person are fine and graceful: she speaks English, not only correctly, but elegantly; and has, both in her speech and manners, a softness approaching to Oriental languor: she retains so much of her national dress as to identify her with her people, over whom she affects no superiority, but seems pleased to preserve all the ties, and duties of relationship. She held the infant of one of her relations at the font, on the Sunday of my visit to the church. The usual church, and baptismal service was performed by a Dr. Aaron, an Indian, and an assistant priest; the congregation consisted of 60 or 70 persons, male and female: many of the young men were dressed in the English fashion, but several of the old warriours came with their blankets, folded over them, like the drapery of a statue; and in this dress, with a step and mein of quiet energy, more forcibly reminded me of the ancient Romans

than some other inhabitants of this continent, who have laid claim to the resemblance. Some of them wore large silver crosses, medals, and other trinkets, on their backs and breasts; and a few had bandeaus, ornamented with feathers. Dr. Aaron, a grey-headed Mohawk, had touched his cheeks and forehead with a few spots of vermillion, in honour of Sunday: he wore a surplice, and preached at considerable length; but his delivery was unimpassioned, and monotonous in the extreme. Indian eloquence decays with the peculiar state of society to which it owed its energy.

The Mohawk village stands on a little plain, looking down upon the Grand river; upon the alluvion of which the inhabitants raise their crops, chiefly of Indian corn. Their houses are built of logs, rudely put together, and exhibiting externally a great appearance of neglect, and want of comfort. Some few are in a better condition: the house belonging to Brandt's family resembles that of a petty English farmer; Dr. Aaron's was neat and clean. The Doctor, who had been regularly ordained, and spoke very good English, told me the village had been injured much by the war, which had put a stop to its improvements, and dispersed the inhabitants over the country. This is probable enough: the Indians advance towards civilized life with a forced motion, and revert to habits of warfare, and wandering, with a natural rebound. The Cayugas seem to have made less progress than the Mohawks, towards domestick accommodation: the fire is still in the middle of their dwellings: the earth, or a block of wood, suffices for chair and table; and planks, arranged round the walls, like cabin births, form their beds. They seemed very cheerful, though with little reason; for their crop of Indian corn, which they were now drying and husking, had been spoiled by premature frost, and in common with all the other Indians of the settlement, their only resource against starva-

tion, was the British Commissariat. They confine themselves to the cultivation of Indian corn, because it requires little labour, and of that sort which may be performed by women; the consequence is, that a single frosty night strikes them with famine, or at least throws them for support upon the magazine of Kingston. The evil and remedy proceed from the same source: an habitual dependance on our bounty destroys, by rendering needless, all exertion towards self-support. But from the system of Indian tutelage results the necessity of guardianship, that is, of the Indian department, through which some thousands of the publick money are annually filtered: a plentiful harvest on the Grand River would destroy golden crops of place and patronage.

I had little opportunity of observing their manners and character. It may be conjectured that European intercourse is fast obliterating the characteristick features of their former social system. Their increased knowledge of our arts and enjoyments, has been probably followed by a proportionate increase of wants, and desires, and these, by the usual accession of their concomitant passions. It is likely they are less brave, less temperate, less sagacious, and less ardent in their social affections, than their woodland ancestors; but also less cruel and revengeful, more selfish, and more religious. In the vicinity of their settlements they have the character of being inoffensive neighbours, and of living peaceably among themselves, except when under the occasional influence of intoxication. Their manners seemed to me remarkable for nothing so much as for that quiet self-possession, which constitutes the reverse of vulgarity. Their women, before strangers, are extremely timid: most of those who lived at any distance from the church, came mounted, with their husbands walking by their sides; a symptom, perhaps, that the sex is rising among them into an European equality of rights and enjoyments.

The whole of the settlements are reckoned to furnish about 500 warriours to our Government. These, if not the best, are certainly the dearest of our allies: besides the support of themselves and their families during war, several thousands are expended annually in cloathing, and nick-nacks, under the name of presents. Every accidental loss, from failure of crops, or other disasters, they are in the habit of expecting should be made good by the liberality of their "Great Father," whose means and generosity they are well disposed to consider as unbounded; an idea which his agents are little careful to repress. During the late war they behaved with the cautious courage of German auxiliaries, evidently considering it their first interest to spare themselves, their second, to serve their father; a mode of conduct which was nearly resented by the more enterprising warriours of the West, who had taken up the hatchet from a strong feeling of necessity, and hatred to the encroachments of the Americans. Among these, the most distinguished was Tecumseh, a Shawnee chieftain, whose courage and commanding talents recommended him, early in the war, not only to the notice, but to the personal esteem and admiration of Sir Isaac Brocke.* Tecumseh perceived the necessity of a general Indian confederacy, as the only permanent barrier to the dominion of the States. What he had the genius to conceive, he had the talents to execute: eloquence, and address, courage, penetration, and what in an Indian is more remarkable than these, undeviating temperance. Under better aus-

* The General, one day, presented him with the sash he had worn on his own person. Tecumseh received it with great emotion, and begged the General to consider, that if he refrained from wearing it himself, it was from an anxiety to prevent the jealousy, which such an honour conferred on a young chieftain, might excite among the older Indian captains; but that he would send it to his family, to be preserved as an eternal memorial of his father's friendship.

pices, this Amphictyonick league might have been effected; but after the death of his friend and patron, he found no kindred spirit with whom to act; but stung with grief and indignation, after upbraiding, in the bitterest sarcasms,* the retreat of our forces, he engaged an American detachment of mounted riflemen, near the Moravian village, and having rushed forward, singly, to encounter their commanding officer, whom he mistook for General Harrison, he fell by a pistol ball. The exultations of the Americans on his death, afford unerring, because unintended, evidence of the dread his talents had inspired.†

TO THE MEMORY OF TECUMSEH.

Tecumseh has no grave, but eagles dipt
Their rav'ning beaks, and drank his stout heart's tide,
Leaving his bones to whiten where he died:
His skin by Christian tomahawks was stript
From the bar'd fibres.‡—Impotence of pride!
Triumphant o'er the earth-worm, but in vain
Deeming th' impassive spirit to deride,
Which, nothing or immortal, knows no pain!

* "I compare," said he, speaking of the author of this retreat, "our father to a fat white dog, who, in the season of prosperity carries his tail erect on his back, but drops it betwixt his legs, and flies at the approach of danger." On another occasion, when by way of pacifying his remonstrances with a metaphor, in the Indian manner, our commander professed his readiness to lay his bones by his side, "Tell the dog," said the angry warriour, "he has too much regard for his carcass, to lay his bones any where."

† The officer who shot him was a Colonel Johnson, who had been himself severely wounded the moment before. Tecumseh bore a personal enmity to General Harrison, to whom he attributed the slaughter of his family; and had avowed, that when they met, one of them should be left on the field.

‡ The riflemen are said to have cut off strips of his skin, to preserve as trophies.

Might ye torment him to this earth again,
That were an agony: his children's blood
Delug'd his soul, and, like a fiery flood,
Scorch'd up his core of being. Then the stain
Of flight was on him, and the wringing thought,
He should no more the crimson hatchet raise,
Nor drink from kindred lips his song of praise;
So Liberty, he deem'd, with life was cheaply bought.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE FALLS OF NIAGARA.

To describe the Falls of Niagara, is to tell a thrice-told tale; yet few can have looked on this marvel of nature with so cold an eye, as not to wish for some record of the emotions it occasioned. The history of our sensations, as excited by the sublimest objects of art or nature, would be far worthier of perusal, than the legends of our vanities and passions, of which history is, for the most part, compounded. It is little, that such spectacles are innocent: an enthusiast in the fine arts has declared, that no one can contemplate the Apollo Belvidere without feeling an exaltation of his moral being. The miracles of nature are not less powerful: to be conversant with them, is to feel too sensibly the littleness of ordinary pursuits and vulgar gains, to become deeply immersed in their polluted vortex. By frequently gazing on scenes, in which the power of man is nothing, the possession of that power becomes an object of indifference or contempt: we approach the contentment of Diogenes, without its cynicalness, and have nothing to ask of the masters of the world, but that they would leave us the free use of sky and sunshine—a greater boon, indeed, than they are commonly disposed to grant.

At Queenston, seven miles from the falls, their sound, united with the rushing of the river, is distinctly heard. At the distance of about a mile, a white cloud hovering over the trees, indicates their situation: it is not, however, until the road emerges

from a close country into the space of open ground immediately in their vicinity, that the white volumes of foam are seen, as if boiling up from a sulphurous gulph. Here a foot-path turns from the road, towards a wooded cliff. The rapids are beheld on the right, rushing, for the space of a mile, like a tempestuous sea. A narrow tract descends about 60 feet down the cliff, and continues across a plashy meadow, through a copse, encumbered with masses of limestone; extricated from which, I found myself on the Table Rock, at the very point where the river precipitates itself into the abyss. The rapid motion of the waters, the stunning noise, the mounting clouds, almost persuade the startled senses, that the rock itself is tottering, and on the point of rolling down into the gulph, which swallows up the mass of descending waters. I bent over it, to mark the clouds rolling white beneath me, as in an inverted sky, illumined by a most brilliant rainbow,—one of those features of softness, which Nature delights to pencil amid her wildest scenes, tempering her awfulness with beauty, and making her very terrours lovely.

There is a ladder about half a mile below the Table Rock, by which I descended the cliff, to reach the foot of the fall. Mr. Weld has detailed the impediments and difficulties of this approach, and M. Volney confesses they were such as to overcome his exertions to surmount them; a few years, however, have made a great change; the present dangers and difficulties may be easily enumerated. The first is, the ordinary hazard every one runs, who goes up, or down a ladder; this is a very good one of 30 steps, or about 40 feet; from thence the path is a rough one, over the fragments and masses of rock, which have gradually crumbled, or been forcibly riven, from the cliff, and which cover a broad declining space, from its base to the river brink. The only risk in this part of the pilgrimage, is that

of a broken shin from a false step. The path grows smooth as it advances to the fall, so that the undivided attention may be given to this imposing spectacle. I felt a sensation of awe as I drew near it, like that caused by the first cannon on the morning of battle. I passed from sunshine into gloom and tempest: the spray beat down in a heavy rain; a violent wind rushed from behind the sheet of water: it was difficult to respire, and for a moment, it seemed temerity to encounter the convulsive workings of the elements, and intrude into the dark dwellings of their power: but the danger is in appearance only; it is possible to penetrate but a few steps behind the curtain and in these few, there is no hazard; the footing is good, and the space sufficiently broad and free: there is not even a necessity for a guide, two eyes amply suffice to point out all that is to be seen or avoided. During my first visit, there were two young American ladies on the same errand, who were drenched, as well as myself, in the cloud of spray. In my opinion, more is lost than gained, by this facility. The effect produced upon us, by any object of admiration, is increased by the difficulties of approaching it: the imagination does not suffer to be thrown away, a single particle of all that has been expended in the pursuit: lovers and pilgrims know this; bring a Baptist's head, or even the wood of the true cross, to the believer's door, they will soon lose all power over his fancy. Objects, indeed, of real beauty or sublimity, are privileged never wholly to fail of their effect, whatever may be the disadvantages under which they are seen; still it may be, and is, weakened by them. Are the feelings excited by the Elgin marbles, when we view them, elbowed by groups of simpering fashionables, and gaping tradesmen, the same with those they must have awakened in the bosom of the lonely traveller, sitting before the fane of Theseus?—For Niagara, I foresee that in a few years travellers will find a finger

post, "To the Falls' Tea Gardens," with cakes and refreshments, set out on the Table Rock.

The name of "the Horse shoe," hitherto given to the larger Fall, is no longer applicable: it has become an acute angle. M. Volney and Mr. Weld have observed this change.* An officer, who had been stationed in the neighbourhood thirty years, pointed out to me the alteration which had taken place in the centre of the Fall, which he estimated at about eighteen feet in the thirty years. M. Volney, speaking of the limestone ridge at Queenston, observes, "Pour quiconque examine avec attention toutes les circonstances de ce local, il devient evident que c'est ici que la chûte a d'abord commencè, et que c'est en sciant, pour ainsi dire, les banes du rocher que le fleuve a creusè le ravin, et reculè d'âge en âge sa breche jusq'au lieu ou est maintenant la cascade." It does not seem that any objection lies against this theory, for admitting that the present bed of the Fall wears away, and recedes, as it evidently does, there is no reason to set any other limit to the commencement of this action, than the commencement of the impediment by which it is caused. It confirms this hypothesis, that from Queenston to the foot of the Falls there are no islands, though at, and above them, there are many. Upon this supposition, then, and from the rough estimate hitherto formed, some calculation may be made, approximating to the probable length of time the river has employed in thus wearing its way backwards. The distance is about six miles; and as the substance to be worn away is homogeneous, the progress would be tolerably uniform in uniform spaces of time: the result, however, startles our chronology.

* Les plus vieux habitans du pays, comme l'observe M. Weld, se rapellent avoir vu la cataracte plus avancèe de plusieurs pas. Un officier Anglois, stationnè depuis trente ans au Fort Eriè, lui cita des faits positifs, prouvant que des rochers, alors existans, avaient été minès et engloutis.—Climat D'Amerique, T. i. p. 119.

M. Volney denominates the limestone of this frontier "*primitif, ou chrystallisé.*" It however contains organick remains, as well as that of the Genesee country, but not in such abundance as the bed of Lake Erie. He considers it as resting "sur des bancs de schiste bleu, que contiennent une forte dose de souffre." I observed sulphur oozing abundantly from the cliff immediately adjacent to, and within the spray of the Fall.*

The lesser Fall, on the American side, had a considerable appearance of elevation above the bed of the greater: upon inquiry, I found there was a difference of fifteen feet between them, caused probably by the greater weight of water descending down the latter; the effect of the scene is increased by this circumstance.

The island which divides the Falls has been frequently visited of late years, nor, odd as it may seem, is it an adventure of much hazard. Examining the map, it will be seen, that at the point, at which the rapids commence, the current separates, and is drawn on either side, towards the two Falls, while the centre of the stream, being in the straight line of the island, descends towards it without any violent attraction; and down this still water American boats, well manned, and provided with poles to secure them from the action of the two currents, have frequently dropt, to the Island. Since, however, the small military post the Americans occupied, on their side of the river, has been abandoned, there are no boats in the neighbourhood, equal to the attempt.

The whirlpool is about half-way betwixt Queenston and Niagara. The river, boiling, and eddying from the Falls, enters a circular basin, round which the lofty cliff sweeps like an antique wall, overgrown

* I found gypsum incorporated with the limestone, in several parts of the cliff.

with trees at its base, and amid its clefts and crevices. The cause of the whirlpool is readily perceived by the spectator, who looks down, and observes that the stream, being compelled into this basin, by the direction of its channel, and unable to escape with equal celerity, is forced to gain time by revolving within its circumference.*

The river widens above the Falls. The banks are low and the adjoining country flat. The bridge over the Chippewa is protected by a *tête de pont:* the river is properly a long stagnant creek, or drain, to Canby Marsh, which covers all the interiour of the frontier, from the Grand River.—Fort Erie has a war-worn aspect, decayed both in strength and dignity. A rag upon a crooked pole, was the only banner, floating on the evening breeze: the walls were tenantless. The original building was a fortified stone barrack: four small bastions were commenced before the war, and one of them partly faced, but without curtains. An Officer, who stood governour when hostilities commenced, finding these works too scattered and unconnected for his small garrison, drew an interiour entrenchment round the barrack, which he declared to be impregnable, and as he prudently avoided bringing his declaration to a trial, it may still hold good. When the Americans defended the fort under General Brown, they converted each of the bastions into a detached redoubt; raised a cavalier battery on one of them, and connected them with abattis: It was the accidental explosion of one of these, during our assault, in Sept. 1814, that saved their army in its entrenched camp, on Snake Hill, adjoining the fort.† Snake Hill is

* The first cause of this elbow in the course of the river, was probably the opposition of some part of the cliff on the northern side of the basin, harder than the rest.

† General Brown has admitted the explosion to have been accidental: it took place after our troops had possession of the bastion, most probably by a wad's entering the powder magazine beneath it.

a sand-hillock, on the edge of the lake, and proves how easy it is, to be a hill in a flat country. The basin of Lake Erie is limestone, most inhospitable to eels. It abounds in organick remains, corals, reeds, shells, &c., differing in this respect, from the rock round Niagara, in which the impression of a shell is rarely to be discovered.

Crossing the Niagara to Black Rock, by a ferry three-fourths of a mile over, I again entered the territory of the United States.

CHAPTER XXIV.

BLACK ROCK TO PHILADELPHIA.

Oct. 19,	Buffalo	2 Miles.	N. York.
	Williamsville	10	
	Porter's Inn	4	
20,	Batavia	26	
21,	Caledonia	17	
23,	Avon	7	
	Danville	28	
24,	Canisteo	17	
25,	Bath	20	
26,	Painted Post	18	
27,	Newtown or Elmira	17	
28,	Tyoga Point	20	Pennsylvania.
30,	Wysall	13	
	Le Fevre's Inn	8	
31,	Wyalusing	8	
	Tunkhanock	20	
Nov. 1,	Wilkesbarre	28	
4,	Wragg's Inn	17	
	Pokono Mountain	12	
5,	Wind Gap	16 1-2	
	Nazareth	9	
6,	Bethlehem	10	
7,	Seller's Inn	20	
9,	Philadelphia	31	
		378 1-2	

BUFFALO was among the frontier villages burnt during the war; not a house was left standing. It is now not merely a flourishing village, but a considerable town, with shops and hotels, which might any where be called handsome, and in this part of the country, astonishing. Its situation is highly advantageous, forming the extremity of the new line of settled country already described, and communicating by the Lakes with the Western States of the Union, and

the two Canadas. The American side of Lake Erie is also settling fast, and Erie is already a thriving town. The celerity with which Buffalo has risen from its ashes, indicates the juvenile spirit of life and increase, that so eminently distinguishes the American population from the exhausted tribes of our hemisphere, which seem, in many countries, scarcely to preserve vitiality sufficient to bear up against the evils of inequality and bad governmment. "The hot breath of war" is scarcely felt here, or, like their own forest conflagrations, is succeeded by a livelier verdure, and richer produce.

I found the country as I went on, thickly settled,* but dull, and uniform in feature, being an entire flat. The autumn had been dry, and water was so scarce in many places, that my horse was sometimes very grudgingly served with what had been fetched several miles. This is an evil not uncommon in newly settled districts: draining follows clearing; the creeks, no longer fed by the swamps, disencumbered also of fallen trunks of trees, and other substances by which their waters were in a great degree stayed, easily run dry in summer, and soon fail altogether.

The principal inn at Batavia is large, and yet upon an economical principle, for one roof covers hotel, prison, court-house, and assembly room. I observed several prisoners at the bars of a lower room, and inquired of an old German about the house, what might generally be their offences. "They had been most of them speculating too much." It seemed hard thus to punish men for the ingenious use of their wits, so I begged a further explanation: they had been forging bank-notes. This delicate definition reminded me of a farmer at Watertown, with whom we fell upon the subjects of English deserters. "We don't want them here," said he; "they are too familiar

* It was a "dreary wilderness" when Mr. Moore travelled through it.

by half." Now, though I could readily believe of these my countrymen, that bashfulness had no part in them, it seemed an odd ground of complaint for a Yankey; so I repeated something wonderingly, "too familiar!" "Aye," rejoined he, "they steal every thing they can lay their hands upon." There is an Episcopal Church building here by subscription; the cost of which is to be 20,000 dollars. My host offered me a "Stirrup Cup," at parting, a civility not unusual in the untravelled parts, both of the States, and Canada.

'Allan's Creek, betwixt Batavia and Caledonia, seems, from the banks still remaining, at some distance from its present channel, to have been once a considerable river, as was its neighbour, the stream of Caledonia, by the same token.

Caledonia is a small, but flourishing village, and has a handsome inn, with very comfortable accommodations: close to the road is a sheet of water, covering seven or eight acres, called the Great Spring, from which a clear and rapid stream descends, through a pleasing valley, into Allan's Creek, before the latter unites with the Genesee River. Its banks are adorned with natural groves and copses, in which I observed the candleberry myrtle in great abundance; but a more interesting sight is the quantity of organick remains, with which the blocks of limestone, scattered through the low ground round it, are encrusted, as if with rude sculpture: they are mixed with nodules of granite, and present innumerable forms both of shells and aquatick plants: the shells were frequently attached to stones, and imbedded in sand, evincing their comparatively late deposition. This district has been settled fifteen years; cleared land is worth 50 dollars per acre; uncleared about 15 dollars. Farmers reckon upon a return in crops of about twenty-five for one.

I halted a day at Caledonia to rest my horse, and shoot partridges, and the next morning went on to

Avon, on the right bank of the Genesee, to breakfast: here let me record the fame of the little red-bricked tavern, on the right hand side, near the entrance of the village (I forget the sign.) In fifteen minutes after my arrival I sat down to a breakfast which a Parisian gourmand might have envied me.—By the bye, the Americans excel in breakfasts, though their dinners are naught.—At Avon I quitted the main road, and following the right bank of the Genesee, began, soon after crossing the stream of Lake Comesus, to fall in with the spurs of the Allegany Ridges. The scenery here improves, and the roads proportionably deteriorate: wild even to savageness, mountain heights branch thickly across the country, with no seeming order or direction, like so many gigantick mole-hills. The only level ground is the narrow alluvion of the streams, which the road is, as often as possible, taught to follow; when it cannot do so, it affords a very practical illustration of the ups and downs of life; yet is this travelling preferable, perhaps in both instances, to the uniformity which causes no fatigue, and excites no emotion. If the height be toilsome, the prospect is pleasant of the deep glens, and shades beneath, and of the blue hills smiling in distant sunshine. The valley is often encumbered with rocks, and its road deep and plashy; but the white broken torrent rushes agreeably through it: its verdure is deep and various, or its cultivation cheerful. The Genesee River seems to bound the limestone region in this direction. The Allegany Ridges, less rugged and precipitious than granite mountains, are bolder and more irregular than the limestone heights, which have a nearer resemblance to long terraces of masonry. M. Volney considers the Freestone Mountains, called the Katskill, which fall upon the Hudson below Albany, as bounding the granitick region towards the East, and constituting the basis of the whole mountain country from thence to the Apalachian Ridges, and Georgia, fixing the

sources of the Susquehanna, and the Genesee Country as the points of contact betwixt it and the Limestone Country. M. Guillemard observes (M. Volney, t. i. p. 57.)

"Le sol de toute la haute Soskouâna est mêlé de schistes, de pierres de geiss, de schorl, de feld-spath, coupè d'une foule de sillons peu élevèes, qui montent par gradins jusqu'à L'Allegueny; là domine le grès."

The woods round the Genesee abound in large black squirrels, some of which are as big as a small cat; they are destructive to grain, and are therefore keenly pursued by sportsmen, who frequently make parties, and celebrate the destruction of several thousands at one chase: their flesh is considered a delicacy: they migrate at different seasons, and have the credit of ingeniously ferrying themselves over rivers, by using a piece of bark for a raft, and their tails for sails. Olaus Wormius tells us the same story of the Norwegian squirrels,* and Linnæus authorizes the belief, so I suppose it to be an indigenous talent, though it would not cost much to a builder of hypotheses to infer from thence the derivation of American squirrels from an European stock.

The road from Danville crosses a creek, winds for three miles up a mountain steep, heavily timbered, and continues through swampy forests to Canisteo. Close to the little village of Arkport the Tyoga branch of the Susquehanna rises, in a meadow by the road side. Arkport is named from the low flat boats called arks, which are built there, and used on the Tyoga, and Susquehanna, whose headwaters have depth for no other craft, and for this, during the rainy season only. It may be supposed that so rugged a country is very thinly settled: villages are separated by a distance of fifteen or twenty miles, with few intermediate cottages. Betwixt Ca-

* "Tranatat hæc bestiola per amnes exiguo ligno caudam habens pro velo expansam:" nor can it be otherwise; "Non enim ei natura alicessum conit natandi modum."—lxviii. 14.

nisteo and Bath there are not more than a dozen, though improvements are going on. The principal settlements are to be found on the narrow alluvions of the creeks and rivers; but even there the soil is of an inferiour quality. The roads are bad enough, but I was surprised to see them deep and miry, having experienced but one wet day during the autumn. I found, however, that this calculation would not apply to the mountains, or to the country east of them, where there had been heavy falls of rain: a circumstance easily accounted for by considering that the clouds which come impregnated with moisture from the Atlantick, are frequently arrested by the mountains, and disgorged, without crossing into the Western country.

Bath is built on the alluvion of the Conhocto Creek, and embosomed in wild mountains: the principal houses are placed round the three sides of a square, or green, and being most of them new, white, and tastefully finished, have a lively appearance, agreeably contrasted with the dark mountain scenery which opens on the fourth side. It was court day when I arrived, and as the court was held at the tavern to which I had been recommended, I found it in a bustle, but I was not the less comfortably accommodated in a well-furnished carpeted parlour, in which dinner was neatly and expeditiously served.

Among the persons at the court-meeting was the Militia General, M'Clure, who brought on his countrymen the destruction of their frontier, by his wanton burning of Newark. He keeps a store in Bath, and succeeded to the command which he disgraced, either by accident, or through the want of a fitter man. He had lately been cast in 1400 dollars damages at Canandaigua, in an action brought by an inhabitant of Newark, for the destruction of his property. It would be judging the Americans unfairly to suppose they had regarded his conduct with in-

difference: for some time after it, he scarcely dared to show himself in his own neighbourhood; and being on one occasion recognized at a publick auction-mart in Philadelphia, he was hooted out of the room.

Many affect to consider the American government as confederate with its officer in the burning of Newark. It must be observed, first of all, that Mr. M'Clure's conduct was disavowed; and secondly, that his instructions have been produced, directing him to "destroy the village, in case it should be necessary for the defence of the fort." Every one acquainted with the rules of war, or even with the rules of common sense, knows such instructions to be perfectly correct; yet the calumny has still held its ground; as if the American government, however willing in principle, had really any interest to commence a system of desolation, which could not but be, as it was, heavily retaliated upon inhabitants, as innocent and defenceless as those of Newark. "But jealous minds will not be answered thus." A lurking hostility to republicanism has been too frequently suffered to colour our views of the conduct of America. Had I believed many Englishmen in Canada, I should have believed there were neither honour, faith, nor honesty in the United States; and that the whole of their military conduct was as odious for its cruelty, as ridiculous for its blunders; yet as far as I could sift out the truth, even on our side of the Boundary Line, there was, as in all wars, something to be praised, and much to be blamed on the part of both. Each nation may charge the other with many acts of devastation, and perhaps some unnecessary bloodshed; but each could also call to mind, amid many deeds of gallantry, traits of high feeling, and generous humanity. Should the reverse side of the picture be alone retained in sight?—Perish, the records of glory, and warlike achieve-

ment, if they serve but to perpetuate national animosities, and whet the sword for a future contest!

There is a road from Bath by the shores of the Crooked Lake to Jerusalem, the village of the Elect Lady, Jemima Wilkinson, and her sect of Friends. A story is current in this part of the country, that having signified her intention of proving the truth of her mission, by walking on the waters, and assembled her followers to witness the miracle, she asked them whether they truly believed in her ability to perform it, to which they unanimously replied, "they did;" "Then," said she "the performance of it is unnecessary;" and so, as may be believed, they went their ways without it.

The road from Bath to Painted Post, follows the alluvion of the Conhocto branch of the Tyoga, and though stony is tolerably level; it crosses the Creek twice in the last six miles. The mountains have a slaty appearance, with horizontal strata. I was disappointed at Painted Post to find the post gone; broken down, or rotted; within these few years. It was, as may be supposed, an Indian memorial, either of triumph, or death, or of both. A post is not much, but, in this instance it was a record of the past, a memorial of, (may I be pardoned the expression,) the heroick ages of America!*

When I was at Ancaster I was shown the grave of an Indian, among the woods near the head of the stream: It was covered with boards, and a pole erected at each end, on which a kind of dance was rudely painted with vermillion. The relatives of the deceased brought offerings to it daily during their stay in the neighbourhood; a vitality of sorrow truly savage.

* M. Volney, without meaning to speak their praise, discovers a wonderful resemblance betwixt the Indians, and the heroes of Homer and Sophocles. Vid. "Eclaircissemens sur les Sauvages," t. 11. p. 502.

New Town, or Elmira, (I put down both the names, for I went six miles about, from not knowing it had the happiness to have two,) is pleasantly situated on the edge of the Tyoga: its appearance, however, is far from gay, for few of the houses are painted, and wooden buildings, without this precaution, soon acquire a dingy decayed appearance. But New Town has better claims than mere good looks, to my grateful remembrance. Owing to some accidental delays, in the course of my journey, I found by the time of my arrival here, that I had not cash sufficient to carry me to Philadelphia, nor even much farther than New Town: I had bills on Philadelphia, and applied to a respectable storekeeper, that is, tradesman, of the village, to cash me one; the amount, however, was beyond any remittance he had occasion to make, but he immediately offered me whatever sum I might require for my journey, with no better security than my word, for its repayment at Philadelphia; he even insisted on my taking more than I mentioned as sufficient. I do not believe this trait of liberality would surprise an American, for no one in the States, to whom I mentioned it, seemed to consider it as more than any stranger of respectable appearance might have looked for, in similar circumstances; but it might well surprise an English traveller, who had been told, as I had, that the Americans never failed to cheat and insult every Englishman who travelled through their country, especially if they knew him to be an officer: this latter particular they never failed to inform themselves of, for they are by no means bashful in inquiries; but if the discovery operated in any way upon their behaviour, it was rather to my advantage, nor did I meet with a single instance of incivility betwixt Canada and Charleston, except at the Shenandoah Point, from a drunken English deserter.—My testimony, in this particular, will certainly not invalidate the complaints

of many other travellers, who, I doubt not, have frequently encountered rude treatment, and quite as frequently deserved it; but it will at least prove the possibility of traversing the United States without insult or interruption, and even of being occasionally surprised by liberality and kindness.

The village of Tyoga Point is placed, as its name denotes, at the confluence of the Tyoga and eastern branch of the Susquehanna, which comes down from the Katskill mountains. From the heights round the village, the eye commands majestick views of these two rivers, descending in opposite directions betwixt their mountain shores, and pursuing their united course through a similar tract of wild and picturesque country. These hills and forests abound in deer, nor are wolves and bears uncommon. The village itself is singularly neat, containing several houses finished with elegance, and is altogether what the mind and eye desire in a country village: the tavern answers to the rest, being clean, cheap, and kept by a very civil landlady. I halted here a day, to kill pheasants, and climb the mountains on the right bank of the Tyoga, in search of prospects, and ferrying over the Susquehanna, the next morning continued my route along its left bank, through a desert of rocks and forest, to Le Fevre's inn, being a log-hut, so denominated.—And how came Le Fevre in it?

During the disturbed period of the French revolution, a number of emigrants, several of them men of rank and property, purchased a tract of land on the Scioto, for the purpose of founding a "City of Refuge." In this purchase they were misled, either by their own want of information, or by the knavery of their agents; and finding a settlement on the Scioto impracticable, they removed to Chemingo, on the Tyoga.—Here again they were not more fortunate; the scanty alluvion round the foot of these rocky mountains, is little likely to repay hardi-

er cultivators; and for the third time, this wandering colony transported itself to the right bank of the Susquehanna, betwixt Wysall and Wyalusing, and astonished the inhabitants by building many-windowed villas, and cutting roads across the mountains to hunt deer and foxes. They named their village French-town, and considering its barren site, it is probable they must have shortly resolved on a fourth pilgrimage, when change of circumstances enabled them to return to France, leaving their airy halls to be tenanted by crows, and wondered at by all the farmers in the neighbourhood. One family, however remained behind, and crossing the river, to avoid starvation, set up this litte inn. The name of this family is Le Fevre; not Sterne's Le Fevre; neither withered greatness, nor heart-broken merit,—yet one whose present situation seems no less forcibly contrasted with their former habits of life, than that of King Joseph himself. The keeper of a *Caffé Anglaise à Paris*, set down among the wildest regions of the Alleghany, removed miles from any thing resembling a village; and, to judge from the rude country round him, almost beyond the ken of civilized life:—yet well may he, (or rather his wife,) answer, "no matter where, so I be still the same, and what I should be;" for so it was: the gay courtesy of France was flourishing as cheerily on this desolate spot, as in its native atmosphere of Versailles. Madame was turned of fifty by her look, short, strongly pock-marked, with a snub nose flattened to her face; altogether so little of a beauty, that she passed in the neighbourhood, that is, within the adjacent twenty miles, for a strong likeness to a toothless superannuated Poodle, belonging to a tavern on the road; but her manner was, "*tout a fait, a la Parisienne.*" Dinner was in preparation, within a few minutes after my arrival, and her own history narrated during the process. I asked her if she had no wish to return to her native coun-

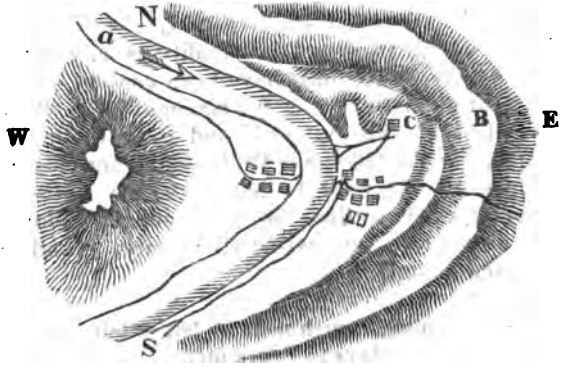
try: "Ah no," she replied, "one's country is always where one can live:" she was as contented as if she had been cradled in the desart. During dinner, Monsieur came in, and having quietly made his bow, was deposited in the chimney corner, whence he was again in due time passively transferred to bed: it was evident he had acquired little knowledge of the "rights of man," since his domestication in a republick: in fact, neither he nor his wife understood a word of English: but she despised the Americans for their ignorance of etiquette, and of the legitimate mode of fricaseeing a chicken. The mother's prejudices, however, did not seem to have extended to her family, which consisted of two daughters, one of whom had married an American farmer, on the opposite side of the river; whilst the other, an interesting sprightly lass of seventeen, filled the offices of interpreter, chambermaid, and waiter, to the hotel; milked the cows, and looked after the pigs and poultry. In all this, she was the soul of gayety; pleasure seemed to gush from the fountain of her natural spirit, and she was evidently best satisfied with herself, when she saw others satisfied; a striking contrast to American girls in the same sphere of life. By these the traveller is received with cloudy sulkiness, or at least with phlegmatick indifference; their attendance is as mechanically cold as must have been that of the domestick statues of Vulcan's household: one would say water circulated in their veins instead of blood. True it is, this frost of the spirits checks the plant seemingly indigenous in the female bosom,—vanity; but woman's vanity is the parent of so much that is loveliest in her, that it is ill exchanged for the unaffected rusticity of vulgar life. Do you inquire of these damsels for refreshment, the odds are, that you are answered by a kind of monosyllabick grunt, or some such delicate phrase as "Mother, the man wants to eat;"—and the eternal process of frying beefsteakes commences. This unengaging manner seems the characteristick of the

lower classes of American females. The married women are, I think, a shade sulkier than the single, but the difference is very trifling. The men, although little chargeable with an excess of gayety, have more vivacity of manner than the women; and as there are few of them who are not well-informed, (at least on local subjects,) they have altogether more advantage over their fair moiietis, in the mere *agrémens* of society, than men usually possess.

The banks of the Susquehanna have no great variety of scenery, though they frequently present grand features. The space betwixt the mountains and the river, is often so narrow, that it barely suffices for one carriage, and in many places the road, for a mile or two, seems to have been hewn from the rock: should two carriages meet in one of these passes, it is difficult to imagine by what contrivance they could be extricated; the population of this tract of country is, however, so scanty, that a dilemma of this kind would be a phenomenon in travelling. Occasionally round the creeks, there is some tolerable land, and two or three pleasant villages; among which, Wyalusing may, perhaps, image out what Wyoming was; but it cannot be said that the deer "unhunted seeks his woods and wilderness again;" —for I heard a cry of hounds as I stopped to breakfast, and the game was swimming the river. The face of the landscape is no where bare: mountain and vale are alike cloathed with pine, and dwarf or scrub oak; the swamp lands are covered with hemlock, and the bottoms of the woods with the rhododendron. I was informed that land in this part of the country, though naturally very poor, had been so much improved of late by the use of gypsum, that its value was raised from five to fifteen dollars per acre.

Wilkesbarre is a neat town, regularly laid out on the left bank of the Susquehanna. Its locality is determined by the direction of one of the Allegany ridges, which recedes from the course of the river

a few miles above the town, and curving S. W., encloses a semicircular plot of land, towards the centre of which it is built. Its neighbourhood abounds in coal.* The pits are about a mile N. E. of the town. They lie under strata of a soft clay-slate, containing impressions of ferns, oak leaves, and other vegetables usually found in such situations. The coal has a bright, polished appearance; its strata are slightly angular; they contain iron, pyrites, and salt-petre, and are traversed by veins of char-coal. The theory of the formation of coal, from decayed timber, is strengthened by a view of the site of these pits. The river A having descended S. E. suddenly changes its direction just above the town, and runs S. W. as if forced to this deviation, by the mountain B. Now, as all the land round the town, including these pits, is an alluvion, raised but a few feet above the present bed of the river, it is natural to suppose that its ancient current must have deposited the timber, and other substances it brought with it, in the angle formed by the course of the ridge B, *i. e.* in the neighbourhood of the coal pits C.



* Of the kind called glance coal.

The town iself has a quiet, rural aspect, from the frequent separation of its streets and houses, by grass fields and gardens. It contains a neat church, allotted to the alternate use of Episcopalians and Presbyterians. The Town Hall was occupied on the Sunday of my visit by the Methodists, to whom a shoemaker was expounding the doctrine of life, with great strength of lungs, and an energy which frequently persuades by seeming persuaded.

Wilkesbarre is classick ground to an Englishman: it is built on the site of Wyoming: a small mound is pointed out near the river, on which stood the Fort; and the incursion of the Indians, when most of the inhabitants fell in an unsuccessful battle, is still remembered. Some few escaped by swimming the river, and fled naked through the woods for several days, till they reached the nearest settlement;—and this is all the record of Albert and Gertrude. The lover of poetry, who would half realize the fictions of the muse, on the spot which she has glorified with the creations of her fancy, cannot help regretting that the bard should have helped, in some degree, to destroy the illusion, by introducing in his descriptions features of scenery as foreign to Pennsylvania, as the sweetly-meditative Gertrude herself, who, had she been as solid a reality as any buxom lass of Wilkesbarre, must have been content to lack the bright plumage of the "Flamingo," the "palm trees' shade," the "aloes," and even the roaring waterfall, for the falls near Wilkesbarre are ledges of rock, merely sufficient to break the current.—Yet Wyoming shall outlive the name and splendour of many a bloated, burgess-fattening city, "and still look green in song."

Sweet Wyoming, though none be left to tell
The beauty of thy days to future men,
How blest when peaceful Albert rul'd thy glen,
And Gertrude was thy flow'r, yet shalt thou dwell,

And bloom through ages, for with charm and spell
Wreaths of immortal brightness have been flung,
Gilding thy ruin—and a gifted shell
Thy tale of desolation hath outrung
With melodies, on which the soul reposes,
Like eastern bulbuls o'er Cashmerian roses;—
And bright eyes have wept o'er thee, and shall weep,
Till nature has grown ruthless in all hearts,
And pity, angel-plum'd, to heav'n departs:
For thou in freedom's burning field didst reap
A deadly harvest, therefore shall thy sleep
Be hallow'd, and thy name, a star o'er glory's steep.

At Wilkesbarre the road quits the Susquehanna, and ascending the ridge I have mentioned, (marked in the maps as mount Ararat,) crosses several heads of the Lehigh, through heavy forests, and hemlock swamps, very sparingly interspersed with settlements. There is a neat inn, kept by an Englishman of the name of Wrag, about seventeen miles from Wilkesbarre; I stopped there to dine, and could have wished that the stage had been long enough for a day's journey, for I was much pleased with the looks of Mr. Wrag's house, and more with those of his daughter, on whose cheek "the rose of England bloomed" luxuriantly, and more sweetly in my eye, for being a rose of my own country. My regret was not diminished when I reached by moonlight the end of my day's travel, on the summit of the Pokono Mountain, whose gradual declivities are bare of timber, more like an English heath than an American mountain. The wretched auberge was undergoing a refit, which left but one dirty little tap-room to sit in, and a half-finished chamber, through which the night breezes sang cheerily: the fare was bad in proportion, and the landlady's temper in unison with the whole; though an old croney of the house whispered me in the morning, that it was beyond comparison the best tavern on the road.

The Pokono Mountain is famous among the sportsmen and epicures of Philadelphia for its grouse: like all the Alleghany ridges, it is steepest on the eastern side. I passed the Blue Ridge at the stupendous fissure of the Wind Gap,* where the mountain seems forcibly broken through, and is strewed with the ruin of rocks. There is a similar aperture some miles N. E. called the Water Gap; which affords a passage to the Delaware. All the principal rivers of the States, which rise in the Alleghanies, pass through similar apertures, a peculiarity I had afterwards an opportunity of observing in the passage of the Potomac. Betwixt the Blue Ridge and the Lehigh the road traverses the Limestone Valley, described by Volney, t. i. p. 68., but which he seems erroneously to circumscribe by the Blue Ridge, and the North Mountain, whereas it lies betwixt the Blue Ridge and the Lehigh Ridge, as he himself indicates by the names of Easton, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, within its limit. The two latter are Moravian settlements: there is a third about a mile and a half from Nazareth, which, though small, exceeds both the others, in my opinion, in the calm and pensive beauty of its appearance. The houses, like all within its valley, are built of limestone: they are all upon a similar plan, and have their window-frames, doors, &c. painted of a fawn-colour: before each are planted weeping willows, whose luxuriant shade seems to shut out worldly glare, and throws an air of monastick repose over the whole village.

Mr. Morse, in his description of Pennsylvania, has given a detailed account of the Moravian settlements; and the inimitable pen of Mad. de Stael has revealed, and perhaps adorned, the spirit of their institutions. (De L'Allemagne, t. iii. p. iv. c. 3. Du culte des Frères Moraves.") I transcribe a single passage, for the faithful picture it presents:

* Granular quartz seems the predominating rock at this gap.

"Les maisons et les rues sont d'une propreté parfaite: Les femmes, toutes habillées de même, cachent leur cheveux, et ceignent leur tête avec un ruban dont les couleurs indiquent si elles sont mariées, filles ou veuves: les hommes sont vêtus de brun, à peu pres comme les Quakers. Une industrie mercantile les occupe presque tous; mais on n'entend pas le moindre bruit dans la village. Chacun travaille avec regularité et tranquillité; et l'action interieure des sentiments religieux appaise toute autre mouvement."

I had not an opportunity of witnessing their church service, which is, as she describes, celebrated with singing, and a band of wind instruments, but I attended a meeting which the inhabitants of Bethlehem commonly hold every evening, in an apartment adjoining the church, for the joint purposes of amusement and devotion. The women were ranged at one end of the room, the men at the other: their bishop presided;—but let me not mislead by the term; he had not so much as a wig, wherewith to support his Episcopal dignity, but was an old man, drest in the plainest manner, with a countenance singularly mild and placid: Paul Veronese might have chosen him for the "beloved disciple," only a little advanced in years—he gave out the psalm, and led the quire: the singing was alternately in German and English, and I have still the good Bishop's voice in my ear, when he gave out,

"O delightful, past expression,
"My Redeemer died for me."

It is an idle question, and yet one likely enough to obtrude itself, "what would become of the world were all its inhabitants Moravians?" The breath of the passions would have ceased to stir the ocean of life: arts of general utility would proceed without the check of many of our habits: disease would gradually yield to scientifick improvements, and the temperate enjoyment of plenty: also, as moral and prudential restraints would have their full effect, the

increase of population would be constantly kept within the limits of subsistence. A period will therefore have arrived, when late marriages must be universal: the most active portion of man's life must in consequence be spent in leisure.—By what objects will his mental energies in this situation be excited? Our hypothesis excludes ambition, glory and interest; necessity excludes love; the former would destroy the principles of a society founded on equality and peace; the early indulgence of the latter, would poison them with want. Shall the energies of mind be stifled, to prevent their abuse? they will be replaced by physical instincts, and brutal force. There is one object of speculation left in unison with Moravian principles,—religion: but in a community in which all men occupied their thoughts on one subject, would they all think alike on it? or could their differences of opinion coalesce with the general tranquillity? History is not silent on this point: that of the Greek empire informs us what would be the destiny of a nation of theologians: So that if a succession of miracles were to establish Moravianism, by destroying all principles of our nature hostile to its foundation, it would require another succession of miracles to preserve it from suicide.

The Lehigh mountain is the last of the Alleghany ridges; the country is thenceforth level, fertile, and thickly inhabited by steady Germans, in broad hats, and purple breeches, whose houses and villages have the antique fashion of a Flemish landscape. German is so generally spoken, that the newspapers, and publick notices, are all in that language. The roads are of a deep miry clay, through which the country waggons, with their long fat teams, plod on seemingly at their ease, but it fared very differently with my light vehicle. The approach to Philadelphia is announced by a good turnpike road. German-Town is a large suburb to the city, and the traveller here feels himself within the precincts of a populous and long established capital.

CHAPTER XXV.

PHILADELPHIA.

§ 1.—ARCHITECTURE AND PUBLICK BUILDINGS.

PHILADELPHIA is as much complained of for its architectural regularity, as most other cities are for the reverse. Large towns have commonly grown up from casual and insignificant beginnings, but in planning the capital of a state, it would have been as singular an absurdity to have made the streets crooked, as to have built the houses upon models of the 13th century: it is difficult to say, why rectilinear uniformity should be more insupportable than curvilinear. All the streets of Philadelphia are spacious; the names of many of them, as Sassafras, Chesnut, Locust, &c. record their sylvan origin; and the rows of Lombardy poplars, with which they are shaded, seem a second revolution in favour of vegetation. The private houses are characterized by elegant neatness; the steps and window sills of many of them are of grey marble, and have large mats placed before the doors. The streets are carefully swept, as well as the footpaths, which are paved with brick. The shops do not yield in display to those of London, nor are the tradesman less civil and attentive.

Of the publick buildings, few pretend to great architectural merit; the churches are neat but plain; that of the Baptists however has some claim to elegance of design; it is a rotunda surmounted by a dome, which is lighted by a lanthorn, 20 feet in diameter; there is a projection to the street, in the form

of wings, separated by an Ionick colonnade, which forms the entrance, and is crowned by two cupolas; the whole is of brick; the diameter of the rotunda is 90 feet, the walls are 50 feet from the ground, and are surmounted by three steps before the swell of the dome, which rises at an angle of 45°. The building is calculated to hold 2,500 persons.

The Masonick Hall is an awkward combination of brick and marble, in the Gothick style; that is, plentifully "tricked and frounced" with niches, pinnacles, and battlements, and a spire 80 feet high. One would think it were easy to catch the spirit of Gothick architecture, which seems to be a combination of luxuriant decoration with imposing grandeur; no effort perfectly succeeds, which separates these qualities; there is, perhaps, besides the meeting together of the awful and the graceful, an association of other feelings, connected with their union; it supposes a great exertion of power in cost and labour, and ideas of power approximate to the sublime. Grandeur of design, however unadorned, and imperfect in the means of doing justice to its conceptions, must still retain the inspiring prerogative of genius, but to lavish Gothick ornaments on a pigmy building, is like overwhelming a child with the armour of Guy, earl of Warwick.

The Philadelphia bank is in the same ridiculous taste with the Masonick Hall, bating the absurdity of the spire: but the United States and Pennsylvania banks are the finest buildings in the city: the first has a handsome portico, with Corinthian columns of white marble, as is the front of the building. The Pennsylvania bank is a miniature of the temple of Minerva at Athens, and is the purest specimen of architecure in the States: the whole building is of marble; the front extends 51 feet, and the entire depth of the building, including the front and back porticos, is 125 feet: the shafts of the columns are three feet in diameter. The simplicity of one portico is some-

what injured by windows, but the whole effect is highly pleasing, and Mr. Latrobe deserves the gratitude of the city for his taste in the selection of a model, which cannot but have a favourable effect on the style of future edifices. An Athenian from the shades could object little to the design of this building, nor would he greatly err as to the appropriation of what he would naturally deem a temple; so it is; the deity alone is changed, Mammon for Minerva: each passion of our nature has, in its turn, been "lord of the ascendant;" and temples, castles, banks, have in succession been consecrated by the superstition, ambition, and avarice of mankind.

The State-house is a plain brick building, finished in 1735, at the cost of 6000*l*. The noblest recollections of America are attached to it. The Congress sat in it during the greater part of the war, and the Declaration of Independence was read from its steps, July 4th, 1776. The Federal Convention also sat in it, in 1787. It is now occupied by the supreme and district courts below, and Peale's musaeum above. This musaeum contains a collection of preserved birds and animals, minerals, Indian arms and dresses, and a long line of ill-favoured portraits, by a Mr. Rembrandt Peale;* but the most interesting object is an entire skeleton of the Mammoth, or great Mastodon, discovered by the exertions of Mr. Peale, the founder and proprietor of the musaeum, in the State of New York, in 1801. His son published an account of it in London the same year; I extract the principal dimensions:

	Feet.	inches.
Height over the shoulders,	11	0
Do. over the hips,	9	0

* By the bye, this nominal union of the illustrious dead with the ignoble living, is very bad taste. In George Town, there is a perfumer called Romulus Riggs, and we have a Junius Brutus Booth.

	Feet.	Inches.
Length from the chin to the rump,	15	0
From the point of the tusks to the end of the tail, following the curve, - -	31	0
In a straight line, -	17	6
Width of the hips and body,	5	8
Length of the longest vertebra,	2	3
Of the longest rib, -	4	7
Of the tusks or horns, -	10	7
Circumference of one tooth,	1	6 1-2

Weight of the same, 4 lb. 10 oz.
Whole skeleton weighs 1000 lb.

This enormous animal fabrick is placed at the end of one of the apartments, with several figures of men near it, probably to mark the contrast of their dimensions. The human stature is, indeed, pigmean beside it, but there is another, and still more striking point, under which it may be considered. It moved and had its being, when all that is of human institution was not; for though the situation and state in which the bones were discovered, may lead us to conclude, that the catastrophe by which its race was destroyed, was more recent than those revolutions of Nature which have disturbed the frame-work of the globe, it must still have been sufficiently sudden and violent to destroy all the living species of the earth. The wall-like ridges of the Alleghanies, with the gaps or fissures, through which the principal rivers descend at right angles to them, afford strong support to the hypothesis of M. Volney, that these ridges once inclosed lakes, which have been drained by the escape of the present rivers. This drain might, indeed, have been affected by the gradual wearing through of their mountain breaches, as Lake Erie may, in the course of ages, be drained by the action of the Falls of Niagara; in this case, however, no entire species of animals would have been involved in destruction; each would have retired from the gradual swelling of the waters in its neighbourhood:

on the contrary, should this revolution have been the effect of some sudden natural convulsion, such a shock would have been sufficient to destroy man and his works, supposing the human race to have then existed, and to have given that impulsion to the Atlantick, which incrusted in polar ice the Mammoth of Siberia.

§ 2.—THE FINE ARTS.

Philadelphia contains an Academy of the Fine Arts, founded in 1805 by voluntary contribution, and soon after incorporated by the Legislature. It has a handsome building, containing rooms for drawing and publick exhibitions. In the hall of statuary, besides numerous casts, are several pleasing pieces of Italian sculpture, particularly two Bacchantes. The picture-gallery contains several excellent pictures of the old masters, and a large collection of the modern. It is injudicious to place them side by side. American artists seem to think that to paint largely is to paint well: much good colour and canvass are thereby lost.

It is not surprising that painting should have made such feeble progress, not only in America, but in modern Europe generally; feeble, with reference to the perfection of the art, for of correct and graceful painting there is no want; wealth will create so far; but the sublime is the production of enthusiasm only, and our social system contains no qualities by which an artist's enthusiasm may be either inspired, or rewarded. It is true that many painters are correctly said to be enthusiastically fond of their profession, as many readers are of poetry, who would not therefore make excellent poets: the mind, compelled to one occupation, will commonly become disgusted or devoted: habit engenders attachment; this is professional enthusiasm. But there is another kind,

of a more expansive and intellectual character; occupying itself, not upon the profession, but upon the subjects of the profession; and this is even more essential than the former, in as much as the ablest painter can go no further than the perfect delineation of his own conceptions; so that if these be cold or inadequate, the performance must suffer in the same proportion. Here seems to be the parting point betwixt ancient and modern artists. We have no remains of Grecian painting, but the analogy of sculpture will illustrate my remark. The Greek statuary might easily persuade himself that the divine image he had cloathed with majesty and beauty, would not only be an object of adoration to his fellow citizens, but might even become the material dwelling-place of the Deity, whose lineaments he had worthily expressed: while the heroes, who were indebted to the gratitude of their countrymen, for a seat among the immortals, must be contented to owe to his chisel the form and features of their divinized existence. If the ancients deified human nature, their artists and poets were the high-priests of the apotheosis.

The great burst of talent with which painting has adorned the Christian world, shewed itself in Italy: the Christian mythology supplied the place of the gods of Paganism; saints and martyrs that of Hercules and Theseus; but the strength of enthusiasm was the same, and perhaps more nearly similar than the Protestant inhabitants of Northern Europe may be able readily to imagine. It is a well known anecdote, that painters frequently partook of the sacrament before they began an altar-piece: their finest paintings were, in fact, religious offerings; and they who patronized and applauded, as well as they who painted, had alike kindled the altars of their taste with the fires of religious zeal. The spiritualized creed of Protestantism disembodied the whole Popish mythology: credulity was forced into new channels, and the artist who should attempt to re-

animate the images of a belief no longer fashionable, would feel his spirit chilled in the ungenial atmosphere; and speedily learn to exchange the delineation of Madonnas, (whose virgin purity some are irreverent enough to smile at, and almost all are content coldly to assent to,) for the more lucrative employment of flattering living beauty: hence it is that our exhibitions blaze with ladies of quality, officers of hussars, gentlemen in arm-chairs, and other equally

> "Vain attempts to give a deathless lot
> "To names by Nature born to be forgot."

It is true that there is enough of religion at present in America, but it is, for the most part, of that sour Calvinistick kind which would damn St. Cecilia for a "pianoforte playing strumpet," and put the whole celestial hierarchy into snuff-coloured suits, and high bibs and tuckers.

Nor are the publick and political events of modern times less unpropitious to the artist's pencil: the Athenian, or Roman painters addrest their performances to the whole civilized world, for what was there of civilization which had not bowed to the arts or arms of these nations? Their gods were the gods of the universe: their publick transactions decided the fate of all nations, not barbarians. The modern painter must expect that the event which he selects as interesting to his own nation, will be regarded at best with indifference, perhaps with disgust, by nine-tenths of the rest of mankind. There are besides very few publick events susceptible of picturesque effect: the business of government is no longer transacted in a publick forum, before the assembled people, with all the accessories of eloquence, passion, and religion: the artist must now grope his way into the ministerial closet, thence to extract well-drest heads, from which feel-

ing never shook the powder, and transplant to his canvass rows of vacant, or kingly countenances, looking over the partitioning of kingdoms, with such an air as easy grocers cast up their ledgers. All is calculation; and how can calculation be painted? Take two or three subjects from Roman history by way of contrast:—1. Horatius Cocles singly defending the bridge of the Janiculum.—His countrymen are at work behind him, breaking down the bridge, on the destruction of which hangs the fate of the youthful republick. Shame to be thus held in check by a single warriour, a sense of the importance of gaining the pass ere the Romans have completed their work, have urged on the Etruscans to surround their adversary: his shield is already stuck full of their darts, and they are beginning, by bodily strength, to force him from his post: at this instant, the crash of the broken bridge, and the joyful shout of the Romans, for a moment check their attack: then Cocles exclaims, "O father Tiber, I entreat of thy Deity propitiously to receive these arms, and this thy soldier to thy stream."—2. During the siege of Rome by the Gauls, Quintus Fabius Dorso passes through the midst of their army, in a sacrificial habit, bearing the sacred vessels in his hands, to perform the rites of his family on the Collis Quirinalis, "Livii Hist. l. v. c. 46."—Some of the Gauls seek to terrify him with menacing gestures; some point him out, with astonishment at his audacity; others regard him with a religious reverence.—3. The death of Brutus, as described by Velleius Paterculus. His left arm is raised, and thrown back above his head; his right hand guides the sword's point to his heart: the averted countenance and hesitating posture of his freedman, contrast with the resolved and energetick attitude of the hero.—Of modern incidents, battles seem to be most capable of picturesque effect; yet here the artist encounters difficulties of no trifling kind. The chief

interest is attached to the leader, who must consequently occupy the centre of the painting; but a general officer and his staff are precisely the least picturesque, because the most inactive objects in the whole army. To represent a great degree of perturbation, would be to indicate a want of self-possession: the painter is therefore reduced to a kind of grouping, rendered almost ridiculous by repetition: the general's extended right arm, his white horse's corresponding raised leg, an aid-decamp with his hat off, on the gallop, have become the inevitable common places of battle-pieces. Our battles are well suited to panoramas, because, though they have much uniformity in the detail, they have more variety in the *tout-ensemble*, than those of the ancients.

In addition to these general disadvantages, painting in America has some peculiar obstacles to contend with. The more equal division of wealth leaves a less surplus to be expended in the luxury of the arts: the equal division of inheritances places almost every man in the necessity of having recourse to commerce, or a profession: we consequently find neither the idleness which engenders dissipation, nor the leisure which creates taste.* Again, industry has too many safe roads to competence, to induce any considerable number of men of talents to embarked in a profession, whose honours, like a guerdon of chivalry, are rendered dearer to the successful few, by the many sacrificed in the adventure. Thus the very advantages of America turn against the arts; nor would it, perhaps, be refining too far to observe, that the tendency observable in Americans towards logical analysis, the natural result of their education and government, though extremely useful in the business of life, is not equally favourable to the.

* I speak nationally; there are, of course, individuals who form exceptions to both branches of the corollary.

arts; the excellence of which, to be rightly judged, must he powerfully felt; whereas, to think correctly on all subjects, is to feel strongly on none. In fine, America may justly expect a brillant success in whatever relates to the useful sciences, in mechanical inventions, and all the arts by which her immense territory, and active population may be most advantageously employed; but the ideal world is not included in her domain; it has, perhaps in mercy, been assigned to those nations which have learned to feel, by being compelled to suffer.

§ 3.—SOCIETY.

"WHEN musick and the fine arts," (says the Marquis de Chastellux, and a Frenchman must be allowed a voice on such subjects,) "come to prosper in Philadelphia: when society once becomes easy and gay, and they learn to accept of pleasure when it presents itself, without a formal invitation; then may foreigners enjoy all the advantages peculiar to their manners and government, without envying any thing in Europe." To which his translator subjoins, by way of commentary; "It is very certain, that any person educated in Europe, and accustomed to the luxury of musick and the fine arts, and to their enjoyment in the two capitals of France and England, must find a great void in these particulars in America."—A lapse of thirty-five years has not diminished the truth of these observations. Society in Philadelphia, (and what may be said on this point, with regard to Philadelphia, applies with double force to all other parts of America,) is yet in its infancy. By society, I mean the art of combining social qualities, so as to produce the highest degree of rational enjoyment; this supposes a common stock of ideas, on subjects generally interesting, and a manner of giving them circulation, by which the self-love of each may be at

once roused, and satisfied. Publick amusements, the arts, such literary and philosophical topics as require taste and sensibility, without supposing a fatiguing depth of erudition, a morality rather graceful than austere, and a total absence of dogmatism on all subjects, constitute many of the materials for such an intercourse. In Philadelphia, publick amusements are nothing; the fine arts little considered, because every man is sufficiently occupied with his own business; for the same reason, questions of mere speculation in literature or philosophy would be looked upon as a waste of time; in morality, every thing is precise; in religion, all is dogma. It may seem strange, that a people so generally well informed as the Americans, should be so little sensible to literary enjoyments: not less curious is it, that the freest people upon earth should be straight-laced in morality, and dogmatical in religion: a moment's consideration will solve this seeming inconsistency. The Americans read for improvement, and to make a practical application of their knowledge: they collect honey for the hive, not to lavish its sweetness in social intercourse; hence the form is less considered than the matter; but it is the form which is principally the subject of taste. There is besides, a principle of economy running through every department of society in the States: it is a saving of time, rather to import books than to write them; hence, there is no class of authors, no literary emulation: criticism loses its interest when confined to the productions of foreigners; they may be read for profit or amusement, but they cannot be discussed, either in their faults or beauties, with the feeling inspired by the writings of compatriots, whose reputation every member of society feels as connected with his own, and their glory as part of his patrimony. Again, piquancy in conversation supposes a certain persiflage, a latitude in opinion, which allows every thing to be said on every subject, provided it be said well: this kind of freedom, which appertains

perhaps, to a corruption of existing institutions, is singularly inapplicable to a country, in which all moral duties are positive; and whatever is positive admits neither of speculation nor discussion.

Religious toleration has produced in America an effect, which though natural, is curiously the reverse of what the advocates for a church, "by law established," commonly predict. A monopoly, either in trade or religion, goes far to produce stagnation and decrement; *ubi una, ibi nulla.*—Zeal cools, and faith decays, under the indolent governance of chartered pastors, with whom such external compliance, as will assure them on the score of temporals, may be expected to form the chief part of their anxiety. When the monopoly is entirely close, the few in whose minds reason continues to assert her rights, have no resource, but in such positive infidelity as will permit those outward compliances, which an heretical belief would regard as criminal. A free competition, on the contrary, not only stimulates the zeal of all, because one sect has no advantage over another, except what it acquires by its own exertions, but in the many shades of belief it offers to the public choice, there are few so fastidious as not to find some colour suitable to their own complexion; and as every proselyte is a genuine victory, the stray sheep from one fold are very quickly caught up and penned in another. There are forty-two churches in Philadelphia: Roman Catholick, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Quaker, Free Quaker, Swedish Lutheran, German Lutheran, German Reformed, Associate, Associate Reformed, Covenanters, Methodists, Christian church, Moravian, Universalist, Independent, Unitarian, Jewish. To fall in with none of these, would indicate a surprising eccentricity of character, not likely to meet with much indulgence; and having chosen one, the American would consider, that, like a trade, it was seriously to be followed, and no longer speculated upon.

Politicks are, indeed, a subject of high interest, whether in action or speculation, but for this very reason they are scarcely a fit topick for social relaxation: they are a part of every man's business, and are discussed as such: a pleaure too, which excludes the female half of society, scarcely belongs to the class of social enjoyments, yet the interest it excites, will probably long render the Americans careless of the lighter beauties of conversational pleasure.

I proceed to consider the manner necessary to give society its perfect grace. "All the politeness of the Americans," observes the Marquis de Chastellux, "is mere form, such as drinking health to the company, observing ranks, giving up the right hand, &c. but they do nothing of this, but what has been taught them; not a particle of it is the result of sentiment: in a word, politeness here, is like religion in Italy, every thing in practice, but without any principle." I have myself seen a lad handing two young women out of a pot-house into the stage waggon, with all the gravity of a Master of the Ceremonies at Bath: in fact, this varnish is used to cover manners very frequently vulgar, and very rarely elegant. Manners to be vulgar must be affected; the meanest Indian is a gentleman, because he is composed and natural; add a desire to please, and you have all that society requires. A Frenchman is as anxious to please as he appears, because his vanity is gratified by success; his politeness is the natural expression of this anxiety, and pleases, as something natural. The American, on the contrary, silent and reflecting, occupies himself very little with the effect of what he says; "*Briller dans la Societé*," is to him an unmeaning phrase; his politeness is, therefore, no reflexion of his feelings, but an artificial form he has borrowed, to hide a vacuum:—and what should have induced a sensible people to borrow a trapping so unsuited to their character? The vanity probably, to rival the nations of Europe, in manners, as well

as in arts and power: the French led the *ton* in fashions; and accident gave French fashions a double advantage in America: but they made the mistake of the nobleman, who purchased Punch, and then wondered he exhibited none of the feats which had delighted him, while in possession of the showman:—but I mistake; they have no such astonishment; they believe, he actually does exhibit them all.

I have proceeded too far in the discussion of manners without introducing the ladies, who have so great a share in forming them. Their cheeks may redden, perhaps, at my hard sayings, but I offer to replace their wreaths of tinsel, with chaplets of pearls. Women bear a high rate in the American market, because they are scarce in proportion to the demand, in a country, where all men marry, and marry young; consequently they are not called upon, to make great exertions to captivate; they can do without striking accomplishments, and, to recur to a trading maxim, which they will very well understand, there will seldom be more of a commodity raised for market, than the consumption calls for. Female accomplishments are consequently in the same predicament with male politeness; they are cultivated upon a principle of vanity, to imitate the ladies of Europe; but they seldom enrich the understanding, or give elegance to the manners:—like the men, the ladies fall into the mistake of confounding fashions with manners, and think they import Parisian graces with Parisian bonnets: nay, this is little, they have improved the commodity: "The American ladies," as I have heard an American lady modestly observe, "unite French grace with English modesty." Happy combination, did it not neutralize the whole compound! Let us view them in their perihelion, at a ball or assembly. Chairs are arranged in a close semi-circle; the ladies file into the room, and silently take their seats beside each other, the men occupying the chord of the segment,

vis-a-vis to their fair foes, (for such their cautious distance and rare communication would indicate them to be:) the men in this situation discuss trade and politicks; the ladies, fashions and domestick incidents, with all the quiet and gravity becoming the solemnity of the meeting: tea and coffee are handed about, and in due process of time, cakes and lemonade, &c.: should there be no dancing, the forces draw off, after having for several hours thus reconnoitred each other. When they dance, the men step forward, and, more by gesture than word, indicate their wishes to their fair partners: Cotillions then commence, with a gravity and perseverance almost pitiable, "Dancing," says the Marquis de Chastellux, is said to be at once the emblem of gayety and of love: here it seems to be the "emblem of legislation and marriage." The animation displayed by the feet never finds its way into the countenance, to light up the eye, or deepen the rose on the cheek,

> Which hangs in chill and lifeless lustre there,
> Like a red oak-leaf in the wintry air;
> While the blue eye above it coldly beams,
> Like moonlight radiance upon frozen streams.

One conceives, on these occasions, how dancing may become, as it is among the Shakers, a religious ceremony. M. Volney is inclined to deduce from the sour Presbyterianism of the first settlers in New England, "*Le ton cérémonieux, l'air grave et silencieux, et toute l'étiquette guindée qui regné encore dans la société des femmes des Etats Unis.*" Notwithstanding the multiplicity of sects in America, they all take their tone from the austerest, that they may lose none of the advantages resulting from the appearance of superiour sanctity: in this way, people of all creeds are screwed up to the pitch of Calvinistick stiffness: gallantry itself assumes a solemn and serious air: the God of Love has laid aside his

torch and purple wings, and steps a merchant's clerk, well versed in the mysteries both of grace and gain. Society, under these circumstances, becomes instead of the Feast, the Fast of Self-love. With scarcely any communication of sentiment betwixt the sexes, there is no collision to strike out the sparkles of wit, nor any sympathy of tastes to kindle feeling, or give the expression of it animation. Parties separate as if they had performed a duty, and meet to perform one again.—I have thus far touched on the deficiencies of American females, let me speak their praise. Their good qualities are of a sterling kind: good wives, good mothers, prudent housekeepers, they may bid defiance to the satirist, until they quit the hallowed circle of domestick virtues, to flutter heavily on the light airs of vanity: through their affectation only are they vulnerable. Should it be objected that domestick virtues alone are insufficient to give the human mind its fullest expansion, to produce a De Stael or an Edgeworth, we may reply, that the energetick feelings which nourish the soul of genius, though to their immediate possessor they may, according to circumstances, be productive either of pain or pleasure, yet in their general growth, are invariably attached to a state of social suffering: there must be a war of elements to engender the thunderbolt. In America life moves evenly, for every one is thriving in his proper place. Misfortune, when it occurs, as where does it not? flows from individual miscalculation, and has, therefore, none of the solemn character of fatality, which it bears in a social system, more defectively organized.

Whatever has been observed with regard to society in Philadelphia, and in the States generally, must be taken with such exceptions as all general observations are liable to. In all the principal towns small circles are to be met with, in which animated conversation, polished and easy manners, leave no-

thing to be desired, but that they should be more common. The Americans have, in general, a friendliness of manner which could not fail to please, would they let the stream take its natural course, without torturing it into artificial *jets d' eau*. With this feeling I have been often tempted to consider the farmers of the back-woods the politest class of people in the States, because their manners spring from the true source, their feelings.

To a stranger, Philadelphia is a less agreeable residence than most other cities of the Union, for the same reasons which render it more agreeable to the inhabitants. Its social circle is larger, and consequently less needs the aid of strangers: it is besides less exclusively commercial, and therefore less in the habit of shewing them hospitality.

§ 4.— GAOL AND PENAL CODE.

The Philadelphia prison is a more interesting object to humanity than the most gorgeous palaces: it presents the practical application of principles which worldly men have derided, and philosophy has upheld, without daring to hope for their adoption. The exteriour of the building is simple, with rather the air of an hospital than a gaol: a single grated door separates the interiour from the street. On entering the court-yard I found it full of stone-cutters, employed in sawing and preparing large blocks of stone and marble; smiths' forges were at work on one side of it, and the whole court is surrounded by a gallery and double tier of work shops, in which were brush-makers, tailors, shoemakers, weavers, all at their several occupations, labouring, not only to defray to the publick the expences of their confinement, but to provide the means of their own honest subsistence for the future. I passed through the shops, and paused a moment in the gallery to look down on the scene

below: it had none of the usual features of a prison-house, neither the hardened profligacy which scoffs down its own sense of guilt, nor the hollow-eyed sorrow which wastes in a living death of unavailing expiation: there was neither the clank of chains, nor yell of execration, but a hard-working body of men, who though separated by justice from society, were not supposed to have lost the distinctive attribute of human nature: they were treated as rational beings, operated upon by rational motives, and repaying this treatment by improved habits, by industry and submission: they had been profligate, they were sober and decent in behaviour; they had been idle, they were actively and usefully employed; they had disobeyed the laws, they submitted (armed as they were with all kind of utensils) to the government of a single turnkey, and the barrier of a single grating. The miracle which worked all this was humanity, addressing their self-love through their reason. I envied America this system: I felt a pang that my own country had neither the glory to have invented, nor the emulation to have adopted it.—I borrow the detail of its history and regulations from "the Picture of Philadelphia," published by Dr. James Mease, 1811.

History.—By the code of laws, framed by William Penn, the punishment of death was abrogated in all cases, except "wilful and premeditated murder, where it was admitted in obedience to the will of God." These humane and Christian laws, when transmitted to England, were all repealed by the Queen in council, but were immediately re-enacted, and continued till the year 1718, the epoch of Penn's death: the penal code of England was then revived. The constitution of Pennsylvania, formed upon the declaration of independence, directed, in one of its first provisions, "the Legislature to proceed to the reformation of the penal laws, and to invent punishments less sanguinary, and better proportioned to the various degrees of criminality." In 1786, when the

close of the war left leisure for internal improvements, an attempt was made to this end, by commuting the punishment of death for that of hard labour, in some cases which had before been capital: this labour, however, was publick, and was soon discovered to attain none of the desirable ends of punishment; hardening, rather than reforming the criminal; and creating, in the publick mind, commiseration for the suffering, rather than abhorrence of the crime. In 1787, Dr. Rush, who had, for several years, borne testimony against the system of publick punishments, read a paper at a society for political inquiries, held at the house of the venerable Franklin, entitled, "An Enquiry into the Influence of publick Punishments on Criminals and Society;"—which was afterwards published. In this, he exposed the errours and mischief of the penal laws that had been recently passed, and proposed that all punishments should be private, and that they should consist of confinement, different kinds of labour, low diet, and solitude, accompanied by religious instruction. The principles contained in this pamphlet were opposed with acrimony and ridicule, in the newspapers. They were considered as the schemes of a humane heart, but wild and visionary imagination, such as it was impossible, from the nature of man, and the constitution of his mind, ever to realize. Notwithstanding, however, a most powerful opposition, the law was repealed, after it had, by a continuance of three years, proved the correctness of the arguments which had been urged against it. In place of publick punishment, hard labour in private, fine, solitary imprisonment, and low diet, were substituted; and inspectors were appointed, to carry the provisions of the act into execution. In 1788, Dr. Rush published a second pamphlet, entitled "An Enquiry into the Justice and Policy of punishing Murder by Death." In 1793, Mr. Bradford, the Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, published "An Enquiry how far the Punishment of Death

is necessary in Pennsylvania," with documents from the criminal courts of the state, calculated to enforce the principles laid down by Dr. Rush. An account of the gaol was added, by Caleb Lowndes, one of the inspectors of the prison. At the following session of the Legislature, the punishment of death was abolished for all crimes except murder of the first degree; and a motion was made, during the session of 1809, to abolish it altogether.

Regulations and Government.—The gentlemen who first undertook the task of inspectors, encountered considerable opposition from those who had, or imagined they had, an interest in the abuses of the old system. The gaoler had grown rich by gaol fees, the sale of liquors, and similar perquisites, and was naturally a decided enemy to innovation. The prisoners on being informed that their former habits of indolence and drunkenness were to be replaced by labour and sobriety, took alarm, and on the evening of the first day on which the experiment was tried, made a desperate effort to escape; but upon the restoration of order, the adoption of mild but decided conduct, ultimately secured the most perfect obedience. The prisoners were informed, "that their treatment would depend upon their conduct, and that those who evinced a disposition that would afford encouragement to believe they might be restored to liberty, should be recommended for a pardon, but if convicted again, the law in its fullest rigour would be carried into effect against them." A change was early visible; they were encouraged to labour; their good conduct was remarked; many were pardoned; and before one year was expired, their behaviour was almost without exception, decent, orderly, and respectful. The principal regulations of the present system, may be reduced to the following heads:

1. *Cleanliness.*—The criminal on coming into the gaol is bathed, and cloathed in the prison dress, his

face and hands are washed daily, his linen is changed weekly, and he bathes during the summer. The apartments are swept and washed once or twice a week.

2. *Lodging.*—The prisoners lie on the floor in a blanket, about thirty in one room. The hours for rising and retiring, are announced by a bell. A lamp is kept burning, so that the keeper has constantly a view of the apartment.

3. *Diet.*—They take their meals with the greatest regularity, by sound of a bell: silence is enjoined while eating. For breakfast they have about three-fourths of a pound of good bread, with molasses and water; at dinner, half a pound of bread and beef, a bowl of soup and potatoes, sometimes herrings in the spring; at supper, corn meal, mush, and molasses, and sometimes boiled rice. Slight offences in prison are punished by a curtailment of diet. Spirituous liquor or beer never enters the walls, nor are provisions permitted to be sent to the convicts.

4. *Sickness.*—A room is appropriated to the sick, with a physician and nurses to attend them; but the regularity of their lives almost secures them from disease.

5. *Religious Instruction.*—Divine service is performed on Sundays, and good books are distributed.

6. *Labour.*—Work suitable to the age and capacity of the convicts is assigned, and an account opened with them. They are charged with their board, clothes, the fine imposed by the state, and expense of prosecution, and are credited for their work; at the expiration of their time of servitude, half the amount of the sum, if any left, after deducting the charges, is paid to them. As the board is low, the labour constant, and the working hours greater than among mechanicks, they easily earn more than their expenses. On several occasions, the balance paid to a convict has amounted to more than 100 dollars; in one instance, it was 150 dollars, and from 10 to

40 dollars are commonly paid. When, from the nature of the work at which the convict has been employed, or from his weakness, his labour does not amount to more than the charges against him, and his place of residence is a distance from Philadelphia, he is furnished with money sufficient to bear his expenses home. The price of boarding is 16 cents (about 9*d.*) a-day, and the general cost of cloaths for a year, is about 19 dollars 33 cents.

7. *Corporal punishment* is prohibited on all occasions. The keepers carry no weapons, not even a stick.

8. *Solitary confinement.*—The solitary cells are 16 in number: their dimensions six feet by eight, and nine feet high; light is admitted by a window at the end of the passages, and by a small window placed above the reach of the person confined, and so contrived as to admit the light only from above. Stoves in winter are placed in the passages out of reach of the convicts. No conversation can take place betwixt the several cells, but by vociferation, and as this would be heard, the time of punishment would thereby be increased. The prisoner is therefore abandoned to the gloomy society of his own reflections. His food consists of only half a pound of bread per day. No nature has been found so stubborn as to hold out against this punishment, or to incur it a second time. Some veterans in vice, have declared their preference of death by the gallows, to a further continuance in that place of torment. A convict, by name Jackson, who acknowleged himself to be an accomplished villain, and to have been in most of the gaols of the United States, was sentenced to hard labour for several years in Philadelphia; he gave much trouble, and at length escaped over the walls; he was pursued to Maryland, and, on his way back, escaped again; he was finally taken, and lodged in the cells, where, full of health, and with a mind high-toned, he boasted of his reso-

lution, and of the impossibility of subduing his spirit or of effecting any change in him; but after having been confined for some time, an alteration in his deportment became evident, and he took occasion, when the inspectors were going through the prison, to enter into conversation with them, and inquired how an old comrade* in iniquity who had been long confined, had obtained his release from the cells. The reply was, that he promised to behave well, and had been put upon his honour; "Would you trust mine?" he rejoined; "Yes," was the answer, "if you will pledge it:" he did so, was released, went cheerfully to work, and behaved with propriety during the remainder of his time.

9. *Inspection.*—Visiting inspectors attend the prison at least twice a week, to examine into the whole of its economy, hear the grievances, and receive the petitions of the prisoners, lay reports monthly before the Board of Control, and in every point insure the regularity of the system; particularly by watching the conduct of its subordinate agents, as the keepers, turnkey, &c. They are fourteen in number.

Such is the outline of the system on which Pennsylvania, and the States which have followed her example, may securely pillow their fame. Objections, however, have been raised to it: its mildness has been represented as a temptation to crime; yet crimes have diminished, since its adoption. "More persons," says Mr. Bradford, "were tried for larcenies and burglaries, while these offences were capital, than since the punishment has been lessened." I had heard it said that thefts were committed for the

* This man had been confined for six months in the cells, at the end of which time, being completely subdued, he was let out upon a solemn pledge of good behaviour, and during the rest of his time, gave no trouble. In this case, the mild conversations and serious advice of one of the inspectors powerfully assisted.

sake of returning to prison; and this is so far true, that negroes, who have neither friends, nor means of getting their bread, have in some instances procured their own return to an abode in which their few wants are provided for; a provision comprising all the enjoyments of which their lives are susceptible. This objection is in fact of a nature so rare and unique, that I doubt whether the friends of the institution should feel very anxious for its removal. It would, however, be hazardous to assert that this system is suited to the meridian of all nations, or rather that all nations are capable of receiving it: transplanted into many European States, it would altogether change its character, as the torch, which is a dim speck in sunshine, becomes a shining light in darkness. The prison would be without the walls, and innocence would take refuge within. In truth, liberal and humane institutions cannot co-exist with tyranny and moral debasement: they who rule by the lash, and the bayonet, have incapacitated themselves from employing the golden weapons of humanity.

CHAPTER XXVI.

PHILADELPHIA TO WASHINGTON.

	Darby	7 1-4 Miles.
	Chester	7 1 2
Nov. 26,	Naaman's Creek	5
	Wilmington	7 1-2
	Newport	4
	Christiana	5 1-2
27,	Elkton	10
	Havre-de-Grace	16 1-2
28,	Harford Bush	11 1-4
	Joppa	6 1-4
29,	Baltimore	18 1-2
Dec. 8,	Vansville	25 1-4
	Bladensburg	8 1-2
9,	Washington	6
		139

On the banks of the Schuylkill, about two miles from Philadelphia, there is a wild scene of rocks breaking the river into several rushes and falls: the metallick brilliancy of these rocks, whenever their strata are broken up, indicates the ridge of talkous granite, which Volney has traced for nearly 500 miles, from Long Island to the Roanoke, and which probably extends as far as the Savannah.* It is observed to limit the tide waters by the cascades it forms on crossing the rivers, and to separate the barren sand-coast from the fertile alluvion districts above

* I found it about Raleigh in North Carolina, and it seems by the falls to cross the Fear River near Fayettville, and the Great Pedee near the Ferry of Queenborough. It is in some places composed of micaceous schistus.

it, striking the Delaware at Trenton, the Schuylkill at Philadelphia, the Susquehanna near Octarora Creek, the Gunpowder Creek near Joppa, the Patapsco at Elkridge, the Potomac at Georgetown, the Rappahanock near Fredericksburg, the James at Richmond, the Appamatox above Petersburg, and the Roanoke near Halifax. The road to Washington follows the line of this ridge, which naturally modifies the features of the country. Its apparent elevation is inconsiderable, just sufficient to undulate the face of the landscape, and occasionally presenting, especially round streams, bolder prominences, called *bluffs* in South Carolina. The creeks and rivers, wearing through a yielding soil, have frequently their banks steep, and let the eye into deep woody glens; the soil in such situations is rendered fertile by a mixture of clay with the sand which constitutes its basis.* As far as Wilmington, the stately Delaware enriches the prospect: from thence the scenery is uniform, consisting of plantations, interspersed with oak and pine barrens.

The houses universally shaded with large verandas, seem to give notice of a southern climate; the huts round them, open to the elements, and void of every intention of comfort, tell a less pleasing tale: they inform the traveller he has entered upon a land of masters and slaves, and he beholds the scene marred with wretched dwellings, and wretched faces. The eye, which for the first time looks on a slave, feels a painful impression: he is one for whom the laws of humanity are reversed, who has known nothing of society but its injustice, nothing of his fellow man but his hardened, undisguised, atrocious selfishness. The cowering humility, the expressions of servile respect, with which the negro approaches the white man, strike on the senses, not like the courtesy of the

* I found abundance of iron-stone on this line, in blocks and detached masses.

French and Italian peasant, giving a grace to poverty, but with the chilling indication of a crushed spirit: the sound of the lash is in his accents of submission, and the eye which shrinks from mine, caught its fear from that of the task-master. Habit steels us to all things, and it is not to be expected, that objects, constantly present, should continue to excite the same sensations which they cause, when looked upon for the first time; (and this, perhaps, is one reason, why so much cruelty has been tolerated in the world;) but whoever should look on a slave for the first time in his life, with the same indifferent gaze he would bestow on any casual object, may triumph in the good fortune through which he was born free; but in his heart, he is a slave, and as a moral being, degraded infinitely below the negro, in whose soul the light of freedom has been extinguished, not by his own insensibility, but by the tyranny of others. Did the miserable condition of the negro leave him mind for reflection, he might laugh in his chains to see how slavery has stricken the land with ugliness. The smiling villages and happy population of the Eastern and Central states, give place to the splendid equipages of a few planters, and a wretched negro population, crawling among filthy hovels—for villages, (after crossing the Susquehanna,) there are scarcely any; there are only plantations—the very name speaks volumes.

CHAPTER XXVII.

BALTIMORE.

WHILE I was in Baltimore, I saw a sketch of the city, taken in 1750; it then consisted of about half a dozen houses, built round the landing place: it now contains 50,000 inhabitants, and is growing rapidly. Here are reckoned to be some of the largest fortunes in the Union, that is, of from 500,000 to 1,000,000 dollars. To strangers, the polished hospitality of its inhabitants renders it a pleasanter residence than Philadelphia. For my own part, though very slightly introduced, I received more civilities in proportion, during the week I spent in this city, than in the whole course of my travels besides. Perhaps this courteous disposition is in a certain degree an inheritance: during the colonial regime, Annapolis was the centre of fashion to all America: the Governours of Maryland were commonly men of rank and family, who brought with them a taste for social elegance, which seems to have become the appanage of the old families, who, since Annapolis has fallen into decay, have become residents of Baltimore. The city is built round the head of a bay, or inlet of the Patuxent, about eight miles above its junction with Chesapeake Bay. The entrance of the harbour at Gossuch Point is 150 yards across, and defended by a fort, which our fleet ineffectually bombarded during the war. A sand bank, about fifty feet in height, evidently the ancient boundary of the bay, forms a natural glacis round the town, and terminates at its southern extremity, in the hill of the signal post,

from which there is a beautiful panoramick view of the city, fort, and harbour. It was on this natural terre-plein the lines were constructed against our threatened attack.

The publick buildings of Baltimore, being all of brick, have little architectural beauty; they evince the prosperity, and good polity, rather that the taste of the city. There is, however, a monument erecting to the memory of Washington, in a kind of park, adjoining the town; it consists of a marble column, adorned with trophies in bronze: the design, like the man whose fame it records, is nobly simple. This is the first token of publick gratitude America has consecrated to her first citizen; and, strange to tell, the design was set on foot, not by an American citizen, but by an Irish exile.*

Annapolis continues to be the seat of government for Maryland. Most states choose some second-rate town for this purpose, to preserve their legislators, either from the seductions or the mobs of a great city; though there seems to be little cause for alarm on either head.

* It is ludicrous, whenever a city corporation gives a dinner to a publick character, to see what a clutter the newspapers raise about "Republican Gratitude." Party zeal is sometimes a dreadful satirist.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

WASHINGTON.

The traveller, having passed through Bladensburg, on the east branch of the Patuxent, where the action was fought, which the Americans have nicknamed the "Bladensburg races," crosses a sandy tract, interspersed with oak barrens and pine woods, until suddenly mounting a little rise, close to a poor cottage with its Indian corn patch, he finds himself opposite to the Capitol of the Federal city. It stands on an ancient bank of the Patomac, about eighty feet above the present level of the river; the course of which it commands, as well as the adjacent country, as far as the Alleghany Ridges. The edifice consists of two wings, intended to be connected by a centre, surmounted by a dome or cupola. The design is pure and elegant, but the whole building wants grandeur. Each wing would not be a large private mansion: the interiour has consequently a contracted appearance, a kind of economy of space disagreeably contrasting with the gigantick scale of nature without, as well as with our ideas of the growing magnitude of the American nation. The staircase, which is a kind of vestibule to the impression to be produced by the whole building, is scarcely wide enough for three persons to pass conveniently. The chambers of the senate and representatives are of very moderate dimensions, and the judgment hall, with its low-browed roof, and short columns, seems modelled after the prison of Constance in Marmion. Some of the decorations, too, are of very dubious taste. Mr. La-

trobe has modelled a set of figures for the Chamber of Representatives, to personify the several states of the Union; but as it is not easy to discover an attribute, to say nothing of a poetical characteristick, by which Connecticut may be distinguished from Massachusetts, North Carolina from South Carolina, or Kentucky from Ohio, recourse must be had to the ungraceful expedient of a superscription to point out his own tutelary saint to each representative. Mr. Latrobe has, indeed, hit upon one device for Massachusetts; she is leading by the hand an ugly cub of a boy, representing Maine, which boy becomes a girl when Maine assumes her proper state;—a puerile conceit. One cannot help regretting the Americans should have neglected to give their new Capitol a character of grandeur worthy of their territory and ambition. Private edifices rise, decay, and are replaced by others of superiour magnificence, as the taste or growing opulence of the nation require; but publick buildings should have a character answerable to their purpose; they bear upon them the seal of the genius of the age, and sometimes prophetically reveal the political destinies of the nations by which they are raised. The Romans communicated to their erections the durability of their empire. The Americans, in "their aspirations to be great," seem sometimes to look towards Roman models, but the imitation must be of things, not names; or instead of a noble parallel, they are in danger of producing a ludicrous contrast.

From the foot of the Capitol hill there runs a straight road, (intended to be a street,) planted with poplars, for about two miles, to the President's house, a handsome stone mansion, forming a conspicuous object from the Capitol Hill: near it are the publick offices, and some streets nearly filled up: about half a mile further is a pleasant row of houses, in one of which the President at present resides: there are a

few tolerable houses still further on the road to Georgetown, and this is nearly the sum total of the City for 1816. It used to be a joke against Washington, that next door neighbours must go through a wood to make their visits; but the jest and forest have vanished together: there is now scarcely a tree betwixt Georgetown and the Navy Yard, two miles beyond the Capitol, except the poplars I have mentioned, which may be considered as the *locum tenentes* of future houses. I doubt the policy of such thorough clearing; clumps of trees are preferable objects to vacant spaces, and the city in its present state, being commenced from the extremities instead of the centre, has a disjointed and naked appearance. The fiery ordeal has, however, fixt its destiny.* Land and houses are rising in value, new buildings are erecting, and with the aid of the intended university, there is little doubt that Washington will attain as great an extent as can be expected for a city possest of no commercial advantages, and created, not by the natural course of events, but by a political speculation. The plan, indeed, supposes an immense growth, but even if this were attainable, it seems doubtful how far an overgrown luxurious capital would be the fittest seat for learning, or even legislation. Perhaps the true interest of the union would rather hold Washington sacred to science, philosophy, and the arts: a spot in some degree kept holy from commercial avarice, to which the members of different states may repair to breathe an atmosphere untainted by local prejudices, and find golden leisure for pursuits and speculations of publick utility. Such fancies would be day dreams elsewhere, and are so perhaps here; but America is young in the career of political life;

* Our expedition against Washington had a singular fate: it pleased both sides. It pleased us, for it succeeded, or seemed to succeed. It pleased the American government, for it provoked the spirit, by wounding the honour of the people. From that moment the war became national.

she has the light of former ages, and the sufferings of the present to guide her; she has not crushed the spirits of the many, to build up the tyranny of the few, and, therefore, the prophetick eye of imagination may dwell upon her smilingly.

I fell into very pleasant society at Washington. Strangers who intend staying some days in a town, usually take lodgings at a boarding house, in preference to a tavern: in this way, they obtain the best society the place affords; for there are always gentlemen, and frequently ladies, either visitors or temporary residents, who live in this manner to avoid the trouble of housekeeping. At Washington, during the sittings of Congress, the boarding houses are divided into messes, according to the political principles of the inmates, nor is a stranger admitted without some introduction, and the consent of the whole company. I chanced to join a democratick mess, and name a few of its members with gratitude, for the pleasure their society gave me:—Commodore Decatur and his lady, the Abbé Correa, the great botanist and plenipotentiary of Portugal, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of the Navy Board, known as the author of a humorous publication, entitled "John Bull, and Brother Jonathan," with eight or ten members of Congress, principally from the Western states, which are generally considered as most decidedly hostile to England, but whom I did not on this account find less good-humoured and courteous. It is from thus living in daily intercourse with the leading characters of the country, that one is enabled to judge with some degree of certainty of the practices of its government; for to know the paper theory is nothing, unless it be compared with the instruments employed to carry it into effect. A political constitution may be nothing but a cabalistick form to extract money and power from the people; but then the jugglers must be in the dark, and "no admittance behind the curtain." This way of living affords too the best in-

sight into the best part of society; for if in a free nation the depositaries of the publick confidence be ignorant, or vulgar, it is a very fruitless search to look for the opposite qualities in those they represent; whereas, if these be well informed in mind and manners, it proves at the least an inclination towards knowledge and refinement, in the general mass of citizens, by whom they are selected. My own experience obliges me to a favourable verdict in this particular. I found the little circle into which I had happily fallen, full of good sense and good humour, and never quitted it without feeling myself a gainer on the score, either of useful information or of social enjoyment.

The President, or rather his lady, holds a drawing-room weekly, during the sitting of Congress. He takes by the hand those who are presented to him; shaking hands being discovered in America to be more rational and manly than kissing them. For the rest, it is much as such things are every where, chatting, and tea, compliments and ices, a little musick, (some scandal, I suppose, among the ladies,) and to bed. Nothing in these assemblies more attracted my notice, than the extraordinary stature of most of the western members; the room seemed filled with giants, among whom moderately sized men crept like pigmies. I know not well, to what the difference may be attributed, but the surprising growth of the inhabitants of the Western states is matter of astonishment to those of the Eastern, and of the coast line generally. This phenomenon, which is certainly a considerable stumbling-block to the Abbé Raynal's theory, may probably be resolved into the operation of three positive causes, and one negative, namely, plentiful but simple food, a healthy climate, constant exercise in the open air, and the absence of mental irritation. In a more advanced stage of society, luxurious and sedentary habits produce in the rich that enfeeblement of vitality, which scanty food, and labo-

rious or unwholesome occupations bring upon the poor. The only persons to be compared with these Goliahs of the West, were six Indian chiefs from Georgia, Chactaws or Chickasaws, who, having come to Washington on publick business, were presented at Mrs. Madison's drawing-room. They had a still greater appearance of muscular power than the Americans; and while looking on them, I comprehended the prowess of those ancient knights, whose single might held an army in check, "and made all Troy retire."

The sittings of Congress are held in a temporary building, during the repair of the Capitol: I attended them frequently, and was fortunate enough to be present at one interesting debate on a change in the mode of Presidential elections: most of the principal speakers took a part in it: Messrs. Gaston, Calhoun, and Webster in support of it; Randolph and Grosvenor against it. The merits of the question were not immediately to be comprehended by a stranger, but their style of speaking was, in the highest degree, correct and logical, particularly that of Mr. Webster of New Hampshire, whose argumentative acuteness extorted a compliment from Mr. Randolph himself, "albeit unused to the complimenting mood." Mr. Grosvenor, both in action and language, might be considered a finished orator, as far as our present notions of practical oratory extend. Mr. Randolph, whose political talents, or rather political success, is said to be marred by an eccentrick turn of thought, which chimes in with no party, seems rather a brilliant than a convincing speaker; his elocution is distinct and clear to shrillness, his command of language and illustration seems unlimited; but he gave me the idea of a man dealing huge blows against a shadow, and wasting his dexterity in splitting hairs: his political sentiments are singular: he considers the government of the United States as an elective monarchy; "Torture the constitution as

you will," said he, in the course of the debate, "the President will elect his successor, and that will be his son whenever he has one old enough to succeed him." No expressions are used, either of approbation or the contrary; whatever may be the opinion of the House, the most perfect attention is given to each member; nor, however long he may speak, is he ever interrupted by those indications of impatience so common in our House of Commons. This may reasonably be accounted for by supposing, that their average speeches are, in themselves better; or more agreeably, by conjecturing, that the American idea of excellence is put at a lower standard than our own. Both the talents, however, and behaviour of the members, seem worthy of the government, and of what America is, and may be. Their forms of business and debate nearly resemble those of our parliament; always excepting wigs and gowns, a piece of grave absurdity well omitted: for it is surely an odd conceit, to fancy the dignity of the first officers of States attached to, or supported by, large conglomerations of artificial hair.

CHAPTER XXIX.

MOUNT VERNON.

Crossing the Patomac by a wooden bridge, a mile and a quarter in length, the toll of which is a dollar, I proceeded through Alexandria, to Mount Vernon. Whatever is worth describing in the house or situation, has been many times described: having walked through the gardens, I requested the old German gardener, who acted as Cicerone, to conduct me to the tomb of Washington: "Dere, go by dat path, and you will come to it," said he: I followed the path across the lawn, to the brow that overlooks the Patomac, and passing a kind of cellar in the bank, which seemed to be an ice-house, continued my search, but to no effect:—I had already found it: this cellar-like hole in the bank, closed by an old wooden door, which had never been even painted, was the tomb of Washington, with not a rail, a stone, or even a laurel "to flourish o'er his grave."

I stood for a moment overpowered with astonishment and indignation:—behold, says Prejudice, the gratitude of republicks! behold, says Reason, the gratitude of mankind! Had Washington served a Czar of Russia, he might have shared with Suwaroff a Siberian exile; he lived and died, honoured by the country he had saved; he is forgotten in the grave, because man is feebly excited by any but selfish motives: the enlightened selfishness of republicanism honoured its defender, but what form of polity has been discovered, in which gratitude survives the hope of future benefits? Party zeal raises

monuments over its victims, to stimulate the survivors: vanity has not unfrequently urged the living to unite by such means, their perishable names with those of the immortal dead, but the mausoleum rises slowly to which neither interest nor vanity contributes. It is said the Federal city will finally receive the remains of its designer; but the Dead can wait; and in the interim the matter was nearly cut short, by an attempt to steal the bones from their present receptacle, to carry them about for a show. The old door has since been kept padlocked.

CHAPTER XXX.

WASHINGTON TO RICHMOND, BY THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY.

	Georgetown	1 Miles.
	Lower Falls of Patomac	2
	Upper Falls	11
Dec. 22,	Lansville	10
	Leesburg	13
23,	Waterford	6
	Hilsborough	8
24,	Harper's Ferry	8
25,	Charlestown	8
26,	Winchester	22
	New Town, or Stevensburg	8
	Strasburg	10
27,	Woodstock	12
	Mount Pleasant	12
28,	Newmarket	8
	Big Spring	10
29,	Harrisonburg	10
	Port Republick	15
30,	Cave Inn	2
31,	Staunton	17
	Middlebrook	12
Jan. 1,	Brownsburg	11
	Lexington	13
2,	Natural Bridge	14
	Lexington to Fairfield	10 1-2
4,	Greenville	13
	Wayenesborough	17
5,	Rock Fish Gap	4
6,	Charlottesville	24
7,	Monticello	1 1-2
8,	Boyd's Tavern	9
9,	Mrs. Tisley's Tavern	27
	Goochland Court-house	15
10,	Powell's Tavern	16
11,	Richmond	14
		394

THE MATILDA FALLS.

CLOSE to Georgetown the granite ridge strikes the Patomac: the road winds agreeably under its

cliff, till it crosses an old bed of the river, left dry in consequence of a canal which has been cut to turn the rapids: there is a chain bridge here, from which the broken bed of the river, the falls, scattered masses of rock, and lofty banks, present a wild and pleasing picture. Having pursued my way for about nine miles, I quitted the main road to visit the upper, or Matilda Falls. A field track brought me into a scattered village, built along a canal, cut, like the one above-mentioned, to avoid the falls: having crossed it, I walked along its edge for about a quarter of a mile, on a broad green-sward path, as smooth and regular as a garden terrace: a little wood was on my right, the trees of which were fantastically grouped together by abundance of wild vine, and other parasitical plants, trailing and twining through them; the whole conveying no inadequate idea of a stately and fair pleasure-ground of Queen Elizabeth's time. Turning short from the canal, and stepping a few paces through the wood, I found myself on a bold precipice of rocks fronting the falls.—I started at a sight so much grander than any thing I had expected: as far as my eye could reach, the Patomac came down from among its woods, dashing, and whitening over numberless ridges of rock, and breaking in a wild succession of cascades, till, as if wearied by its own efforts, it swept, with silent impetuosity through a contracted channel betwixt perpendicular cliffs, whose dark, bare masses of granite were scantily crested by a few pines and cedars. The perpendicular descent of the falls is reckoned by Volney at seventy-two feet,* but the rapids extend

* "*Elle a environ* 72 *pieds de hauteur, sur* 800 *a* 900 *de large: le fleuve, qui jusqu' alors avait coulé dans une vallée bordée de côteaux sauvages comme ceux du Rhône en Vivarais, tombe tout-a-coup, comme le Saint Laurent, dans un profond ravin de pur roc granit tallé a pic sur les deux rives.*

Volney, Climat D'Amerique, t. i, p. 125.

I found mica-slate, and porphyry about the Falls.

for several miles up the river, and the whole scene has a magnificent wildness, which may be gazed upon with delight and wonder, even after Niagara; so inexhaustibly can nature vary her features, and be alike gracefully sublime in all.*

* It is remarkable, that Mr. Jefferson, so accurate in his notices of Virginia, makes no mention of these falls.

CHAPTER XXXI.

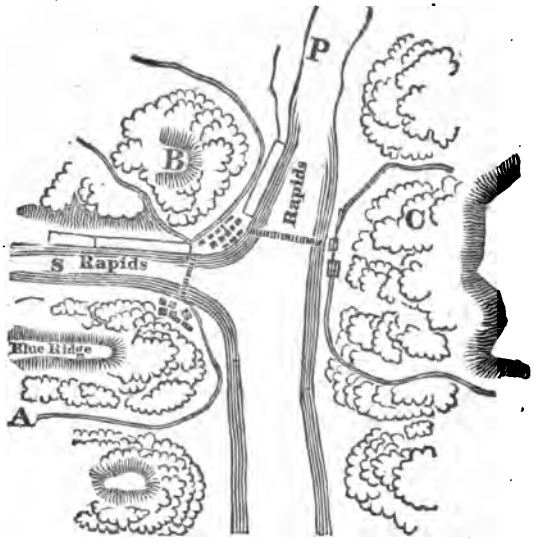
HARPER'S FERRY.

The road which ascends the right bank of the Patomac, through Lansville and Leesburg, has the credit, and I think justly, of being about the worst in the Union. It is a common saying of roads in Virginia, that they are "not made, but created." The soil towards the mountains is generally a stiff clay, and as each waggoner works his own way through the woods, the traveller is continually puzzled betwixt the equal probabilities of a variety of tracts, most of which, indeed, lead to the same point, but as this is not invariably the case, he must often journey on in doubt, or halt in muddy perplexity until he can procure information. The villages are thinly scattered, but well built of brick, an advantage derived from the soil. Leesburg contains about 1200 inhabitants. The inn at which I stopped, had stabling for above an hundred horses, for the accommodation of farmers who come together on Court days. These court days are almost county meetings; those who have business attend for business sake, those who have none attend to meet their neighbours, who may have business with them, and because it is discreditable to be often absent.

At Hilsborough, the road passes through a mountain gap, resembling the Wind Gap, on a small scale: this ridge is called the Short Mountain, and runs parallel to the Blue Ridge, at the distance of about five miles; it crosses the Patomac below Harper's

Ferry, and I am inclined to consider it as the same, which M. Volney observed near Columbia Ferry, betwixt York and Lancaster, and which he is disposed to regard as the Blue Mountain itself. I should rather leave the Blue Mountain where it stands in the maps at present, and conjecture this collateral ridge to be a prolongation of the Lehigh Mountain, perhaps communicating with Monticello. Immediately after passing it, the road turns to the right and continues betwixt it and the Blue Mountain, to which it seems an immense out-work. The land rises gradually, nor is it until you have reached the ridge of the descent, and find yourself looking down towards the bed of the Patomac, and its opposite shore, that you are aware of the elevation gained.

Here commences the savage wildness of the picture. Your road lies down the side of the mountain, strewed with splinters and fragments of rock, which slide from beneath your horse's feet: immense masses of rock project their bold angles, so as frequently to leave a cranked and difficult passage; meantime the mountains stretching up on every side, and partially beheld between the scattered pine trees, seem contracting round with a deepening breadth of shadow and gloomy grandeur, until you find at their base the united Patomac and Shenandoah, boiling over their incumbered channel. Continuing your way betwixt these waters, and the ragged precipices of the Blue Mountain, through which they seem to have burst, you reach the Shenandoah Ferry: but a sketch will best illustrate the *locale* of this extraordinary scene.



I descended by the road A. The village is built round the foot of the height B: it is chiefly remarkable for a manufactory of small arms, about 10,000 stand of which are finished yearly: "They make as many in a week at Birmingham," said one of the workmen, who had been formerly employed there, to me. It is from this height, immediately above the village, and from a broad bare platform of Rock, known by the name of Jefferson's rock, that the eye commands the magnificent prospect which Mr. Jefferson has so eloquently, yet correctly described. "You stand on a very high point of land. On your right comes up the Shenandoah, having ranged along the foot of the mountain an hundred miles to seek a vent. On your left approaches the Patomac, in quest of a passage also. In the moment of their junction, they rush together against the mountain,

rend it asunder, and pass off to the sea. The first glance of this scene hurries our senses into the opinion, that this earth has been created in time, that the mountains were formed first, that the rivers began to flow afterwards; that in this place particularly, they have been dammed up by the Blue ridge of mountains, and have formed an ocean which filled the whole valley; that continuing to rise, they have at length broken over at this spot, and have torn the mountain down from its summit to its base. The piles of rock on each hand, but particularly on the Shenandoah, the evident marks of their disrupture and avulsion from their beds by the most powerful agents of nature, corroborate the impression. But the distant finishing which nature has given to the picture, is of a very different character. It is a true contrast to the foreground. It is as placid and delightful, as that is wild and tremendous. For the mountain being cloven asunder, she presents to your eye, through the cleft, a small catch of smooth blue horizon, at an infinite distance in the plain country, inviting you, as it were, from the riot and tumult roaring around, to pass through the breach and participate of the calm below. Here the eye ultimately composes itself; and that way too, the road happens actually to lead. You cross the Patomac above the junction, pass along its side through the base of the mountain for three miles, its terrible precipices hanging in fragments over you, and within about 20 miles reach Fredericktown, and the fine country round it. This scene is worth a voyage across the Atlantick: yet here, as in the neighbourhood of the Natural Bridge, are people, who have passed their lives within half a dozen miles, and have never been to survey these monuments of a war between rivers and mountains which must have shaken the earth itself to its centre."—Notes, p. 27.

Crossing Harper's Ferry, I ascended with some toil the mountain precipice, C, on the left of the Pato-

mac. The side it presents to the river, broken and perpendicular, its disjointed and confused strata, with enormous masses of rock jutting out, and impending above its base, seem to testify the catastrophe by which it has been rent asunder: from its summit I commanded a magnificent prospect of the Shenandoah Valley, bounded on either side by the North and Blue Mountain ridges, like gigantick walls, with the blue peaks of the Fort Mountain, rising at the distance of about fifty miles to the south-west. M. Volney estimates the height of the Blue Ridge, at this spot, at 1150 feet. It is chiefly composed of flint, freestone, and some granite, but the point B is schistus. Canals have been cut to turn the rapids of both rivers. Flour is the article chiefly brought down, in long flat boats, which carry about eighty barrels each. The navigation, as may be supposed, is both difficult and dangerous. I found the inn here tolerably good, but the charges extravagant; a circumstance my landlord indirectly explained, by telling me of the many travellers whom curiosity brought to the spot, rather, it should seem, to discover if it possest any peculiar virtue to rid them of their time and money, than to admire its beauties. He was also haunted by a class of customers of a very different stamp, wealthy and penurious farmers, from whom he could extract nothing: he instanced two, who had lately slept at his house, after laying out very large sums at a neighbouring cattle fair: they slept, took their meals, and paid a bill of two pence. This is economy beyond the flight of an English miser. They brought their bacon with them, requested permission to spread their blankets on the floor, and took two glasses of whiskey in the morning for the good of the house. I found my host graduated his charges according to what one set of his customers *would*, and what he thought the other *should* spend; by which means I paid for the opposite vices of both.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY.

The Blue Ridge, and North Mountain, having crossed the Patomac, bound a valley, about twenty miles wide at its greatest breadth on the Patomac, and narrowing, almost to a point, beyond the Natural bridge, a length of about 180 miles. It is watered by the many branches of the Shenandoah, a few of which rise in the North Mountain, but the greater number among the spurs of both ridges, where they nearly meet, in the neighbourhood of Staunton and Waynesborough. The two principal branches, called the North and South Rivers, are separated by a ridge, named, from the peculiarity of its form, the Fort Mountain, which divides the valley longitudinally for above fifty miles, and terminates near the village of Port Republick. The basis of the soil is limestone, the strata of which are every where visible, ranging, (says Mr. Jefferson,) "as the mountains and sea-coast do, from south-west to north-east, the lamina of each bed declining from the horizon towards a parallelism with the axis of the earth." Notes, p. 42. The whole valley is remarkably fertile, particularly in wheat, so that Winchester, as a corn market, has more than a nominal resemblance to its Hampshire namesake. It has been built about sixty years: the houses are, for the most part, small, and either log, plank, brick, or stone, according to their date, or the means of their inhabitants: the number of these was estimated at 2,500 by the last census, but there is a considerable portion of negroes. I had a

direction to a boarding-house kept by a Mrs. Street, and can conscientiously recommended her neat apartments and good table to the attention of future travellers. The return of crops through the valley is averaged at about twenty bushels of wheat per acre. Gypsum is generally used at the cost of from thirty to forty dollars per ton. The farmers, (for here we get quit of planters and plantations,) are reckoned rich and penurious. It is probable enough, their habits of expense are upon a very different scale from those of the planters, but the luxury of the few is ever atoned for by the poverty of the many.

There are more farm-houses and fewer negro huts in this valley, than in the Lowlands: still, however, the plague-spot is too evident. At every tavern advertisements are stuck up for runaway slaves: the barbarous phraseology in which they were drawn up, sometimes amused,* but the ferocious spirit of revenge they too plainly expressed more frequently disgusted me.

A country must have very bold features to be interesting in winter: the Shenandoah Valley should be visited when the harvest is yellow on its ample fields: the roads were, however, good, even at this season, except that when crossed by limestone strata they were rather rough. The weather, too, was fine, and the thermometer frequently up to 70°, with a south-west wind.

The Fort Mountain commences near Stratford: it is named from being accessible but by one road, but the top of it is flat, and I was told there were many hundred acres of very good land on it. The inhabitants of the valley are remarkably clean in their houses: I stopped at a little tavern near the Big Spring, on the floor of which one might have dined: to be sure it did not seem a house of great resort, but I had, subsequently, cause to make comparisons

* I remember a negro being described as "Chunkmade."

on this point, much to its advantage, particularly at Richmond. The Big Spring gushes from a knoll of limestone behind the tavern, and almost immediately turns a mill, and escapes down a glen, dark with cedars and pine-trees. Some fine views of the mountains present themselves a little above Harrisonburg. On entering the village, I inquired, of a respectable looking farmer, for the best tavern: he conducted me to one kept by himself, which it was luckily no prejudice in him to call the best. Mr. Duff's person and appearance pleased me: he was a very personification of Farmer Dimmond; tall, and of an athletick make, with a gait firm and erect, and his dark hair slightly grizzled, curled above a countenance of manly beauty, beaming with good humour. He made me very welcome, and entered into a lively gossip; while his wife, a neat and somewhat quaint picture of good housewifery, prepared a comfortable dinner, after which, over a few glasses of negus, I soon became acquainted with whatever was worth knowing of the country. The village, Mr. Duff informed me, had formerly been remarkable for the vicious habits of its inhabitants; but a complete reformation had lately taken place through the agency, not of preachers, but of the Grand Jury, who had imposed upon themselves the duty of receiving informations in cases of quarrels, swearing, drunkenness, and other habits of low vice, and had put the laws into force against the offenders with such good effect, that scarcely an oath was to be heard, or a drunken man seen in the township. Mr. Duff was himself an excellent specimen of the best part of his neighbours; though extremely lively, and fond of conversation, he never uttered an immoral expression, and declared, that the glass of negus he took with me was more than he had taken of spirits for several years. His disposition seemed in a high degree friendly and benevolent; yet, mark the withering effect of slavery on the moral feelings! he was

talking of the different ways men had in that part of the country of making money. "Some," said he, "purchase droves of hogs, oxen, or horses, in one part of the Union, and drive them for sale to another; and some buy negroes in the same way, and drive them, chained together, to different markets: I expect two gentlemen here this evening with a drove." I expressed my horrour of such traffick; he civilly assented to my observation, but plainly without any similar feeling, and spoke of the gentlemen he expected, as if they were just as "honourable men," as any other fair dealers in the community: luckily I was not cursed with their company. I never chanced to fall in with one of these human droves, but I borrow from a pleasing little work, written by a Virginian, and entitled, "Letters from Virginia," the following description which he gives in the character of a foreigner newly landed at Norfolk.

"I took the boat this morning, and crossed the ferry over to Portsmouth, the small town which I told you is opposite to this place. It was court day, and a large crowd of people was gathered about the door of the Court House. I had hardly got upon the steps to look in, when my ears were assailed by the voice of singing, and turning round to discover from what quarter it came, I saw a group of about thirty negroes, of different sizes and ages, following a rough-looking white man, who sat carelessly lolling in his sulkey. They had just turned round the corner, and were coming up the main street to pass by the spot where I stood, on their way out of town. As they came nearer, I saw some of them loaded with chains to prevent their escape; while others had hold of each other's hands, strongly grasped, as if to support themselves in their affliction. I particularly noticed a poor mother, with an infant sucking at her breast as she walked along, while two small children had hold of her

apron on either side, almost running to keep up with the rest. They came along singing a little wild hymn, of sweet and mournful melody, flying by a divine instinct of the heart to the consolation of religion, the last refuge of the unhappy, to support them in their distress. The sulky now stopped before the tavern, at a little distance beyond the court-house, and the driver got out. 'My dear Sir,' (said I, to a person who stood near me,) 'can you tell me what these poor people have been doing? What is their crime? and what is to be their punishment?' 'O, (said he,) its nothing at all, but a parcel of negroes sold to Carolina, and that man is their driver, who has bought them.' 'But what have they done, that they should be sold into banishment?' 'Done, (said he,) nothing at all that I know of, their masters wanted money, I suppose, and these drivers give good prices.' Here the driver having supplied himself with brandy, and his horse with water (the poor negroes of course wanted nothing,) stepped into his chair again, cracked his whip and drove on, while the miserable exiles followed in funeral procession behind him."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE CAVES.

About a mile from Harrisonburg, there is a road which turns to the left; it crosses the north and middle forks of the South Shenandoah, and passes round the southern extremity of the Fort Mountain, through a well settled country, to Port Republick; from this village the distance is about a mile to the Cave tavern. A hill, reckoned at 200 feet of perpendicular height, rises on the left bank of the south fork, the ascent of which is so steep, that, as Mr. Jefferson observes, "you may pitch a biscuit from its summit into the river." The entrance into the Caves is about two-thirds of the way up; the one Mr. Jefferson has described, Notes p. 31. by the name of Madison's Cave, is used for the purpose of making salt-petre, and seldom visited from curiosity; its attraction having been destroyed by the discovery of another cavern of superiour extent and grandeur, in the same cliff, a few yards beyond it. Being private property, and much frequented by strangers, the entrance is kept closed. The proprietor, an old German, acts as guide, provides lights, &c. and seems to feel much interest in his office, when he attends persons whom he thinks capable of appreciating the scene.

The entrance afforded mere crawling room, but as we receded from the light of day, the vaulting rose, and after descending some rude steps and crags, we began to perambulate a magnificent subterranean palace. Its length is reckoned at 800

yards, and taking the curvatures of the numerous apartments it may be as much: there are about 14 of them, of various dimensions; some low-browed and studded with pointed, and glittering stalactites, like fairy grottoes, others long and spacious, with roofs so lofty, that the summits of the massive congelations, which, pillar-like, descend from them to the ground, are shrouded in obscurity. The largest of these apartments, called Washington's hall, is 93 yards in length, of a proportionate breadth, and probably 50 feet high.

It is impossible to describe the solemn grandeur of this natural cathedral: clusters of stalactitick columns, many of them ten or twelve feet in circumference, rise in magnificent order along the sides; their colour is of a glistening brown, with frequently a shaft, a pedestal, or an intercolumniation of snowy whiteness. On approaching the upper end, our lights gleamed upon a gigantick stalactite, which, in the dimness, bore some resemblance to a throned statue of alabaster; it is called Washington's statue; but this appellation, like many other misnomers and conceits, such as Solomon's throne, David's sceptre, Adam and Eve in Paradise, which the guide forces on your notice as you proceed, serves only to create a tiresome distraction of the attention, by introducing ideas peculiarly ill suited to a scene, in which nature is working alone in power and beauty, regardless of the existence of man and his passions. There is scarcely a turn in the cavern which does not present some curious specimen of her sportive creation, at one time imitating the folds of gorgeous drapery; at another, representing a water-fall, which seems to have been suddenly converted into marble; here she has chiselled out the model of a Gothick oratory; there adorns a large sitting-room, with flowers and rural implements. The larger columns, being hollow, give out, when forcibly struck, a deep and melodious sound, which heard in the remoter

caverns, has the effect of fine musick. What a Pythian dwelling for old superstition!*

I found very good quarters at Staunton, and spent the evening agreeably, in company with a young American sailor, who had served at the Battle of Plattsburg. He related some anecdotes, which had fallen under his own observation, of the behaviour of impress seamen, which induced me to wish this rotten portion of our naval system exterminated. While coping with inferiour foes, some errours may be afforded, but when "Greek meets Greek," the careless fastening of a vizor-clasp may decide the contest.

Betwixt Staunton and Lexington, the villages have a mean appearance. At Middlebrook, while my horse was feeding, several of the inhabitants collected round my waggon, and finding it of a fashion unusual in their country, concluded I could be no ordinary person, so they begged to know if I was not the showman, who had been exhibiting in the neighbourhood, and whose fame had preceded his arrival at this village: upon my assuring them I was no such distinguished character, (for I believe the inquiry rather implied a compliment,) they contented themselves with taking notes and dimensions of my equipage, and we civilly parted. The valley narrows towards Lexington, and the face of the country becomes in consequence more wild and uneven, being broken into paps and short hills, shooting out from the North, and Blue ridges, and thus presenting a succession of deeply wooden glens and mountain, very agreeable after the level uniformity of the upper part of the valley. Lexington is a brisk-looking little town, and having a college, is the literary capital of the upper parts of

* I found the heat of the Cavern oppressive; it was a sharp frost without, the thermometer at 30°; in Washington's Hall it rose to 64°; the vapour from within had completely thawed the vicinity of the entrance.

Virginia. Arriving early in the day, I inquired for a saddle horse to ride over to the Natural Bridge; the landlord of the tavern at which I stopped immediately set out with me in search of one, and I reached the Bridge tavern, as it is called, the same evening. I found it a substantial stone house, and all in a bustle, for a party of young men had met to have a dance; they were, however, scantily supplied with partners, the ladies of the neighbourhood having, either from caprice or devotion, for the most part declined their invitation; they, however, used merrily the means they had. While the amusements were going on in the publick room, I walked into the parlour, to be a little out of the noise; an ungracious term, but the mirth in which we have no share, will sometimes sound harshly, and so it did to other ears than mine, though for a different reason. In this same parlour, I found a square erect figure, in a brimmed hat, and primitive suit of dark snuff-colour, pacing up and down with a sourness of aspect, which, had I not been subsequently enlightened as to its cause, I might have ascribed to a fit of the cholick: he had already enunciated the perturbed condition of the inward man, by several emphatick ohs, and groans, when a merry, respectable looking Irishman, whom I had observed a principal promoter of the revels, tripped in, and presently addressing himself rather to the thoughts than the words, of my dolorous snuff-coloured friend, observed, "Now for my soul, I cannot see any difference whether we jump about to the cat-gut, or sit still with our hands before us; the time is but spent one way as well as the other." "The difference" retorted the saint, (for such he now proved himself to be,) "is that the one can be done to the glory to God, and the other cannot." Alas! for the glory of the Almighty, which one half of mankind believes itself able to exalt by jumping about, and the other half by sitting still. This sour fanaticism is, however, gaining great ground in the States.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE NATURAL BRIDGE.

To describe the Natural Bridge in any other words than those of Mr. Jefferson, would imply a stronger feeling of its beauty, or a greater power of description than his: I pretend to neither, and a good quotation is better than original insipidity.

"The Natural Bridge, the most sublime of Nature's works, is on the ascent of a hill, which seems to have been cloven through its length by some great convulsion. The fissure just at the bridge is by some admeasurements 270 feet deep, by others, only 205: it is about forty-five feet wide at the bottom, and ninety feet at the top; this of course determines the length of the bridge, and its height above the water. Its breadth in the middle is about sixty feet, but more at the ends, and the thickness of the mass at the summit of the arch, about forty feet. A part of this thickness is constituted by a coat of earth, which gives growth to many large trees: the residue, with the hill on both sides, is one solid rock of limestone. The arch approaches the semi-elliptical form; but the longer axis of the ellipsis, which would be the chord of the arch, is many times longer than the transverse. Though the sides of this bridge are provided, in some parts, with a parapet of fixed rocks, yet few men have the resolution to walk to them, and look over into the abyss. You involuntarily fall upon your hands and feet, creep to the parapet, and peep over it. Looking down from this height about a minute gave me a violent headach.

If the view from the top be painful and intolerable, that from below is delightful in an equal extreme. It is impossible for the emotions arising from the sublime to be felt beyond what they are here: so beautiful an arch, so elevated, so light, and springing up as it were to heaven! The rapture of the spectator is really indescribable! The fissure continuing narrow, deep, and straight, for a considerable distance above and below the bridge, opens a short, but very pleasing view, of the North Mountain on the one side, and the Blue Ridge on the other, at the distance, each of them, of about five miles. The stream passing under the bridge is called Cedar Creek. It is a water of James' River, and sufficient, in the dryest seasons, to turn a grist-mill, though its fountain is not more than two miles above." —Notes, p. 34.

Mr. Jefferson prudently abstains from building any hypothesis as to the origin of this natural wonder: the Marquis de Chastellux has more chivalrously made the attempt, by supposing that after the draining of the larger valleys by the escape of their waters through the mountain gaps, the little valley of Cedar Creek served as a partial reservoir, dammed up by the rock of the natural bridge, the under part of which they undermined, and so formed the arch. It is difficult, however, to conceive how a body of water contained within this little ravine, and consequently in a quiescent state, could have force enough to break, or mine through a mass of rock sixty feet in thickness: besides, this hypothesis still leaves the extraordinary circumstance of a wall of these dimensions crossing the valley, unaccounted for. Mr. Jefferson, in observing on Don Ulloa's description of a similar break in the province of Anjarez, in South America, inclines to the opinion that in both cases the effect had been produced by some sudden convulsion; a less favourite, because, perhaps, a more simple hypothesis than the former. Mr. Jefferson is the proprietor of the

Natural Bridge, and commonly makes a visit once in the year, "to look upon its beauty."*

Betwixt Lexington and the bridge there are some grand features of scenery, particularly at the mill and village of Buffalo Creek. Betwixt Lexington and Wayenesborough, I found the roads miry, and the country heavy; the villages few, and not very pleasing in their appearance; but in fact, the season for the picturesque was gone by, and toiling through dark plashy woods began to be tiresome work. I slept a night at the tavern of Rock-fish Gap, and from the heights above the house, enjoyed a last view of the valley and mountain country on one hand, while on the other I looked down into the lowlands, over an immense landscape of fertile country. The soil on this side the ridge, is a tenacious red clay, "just," says Volney, "like the soil of Aleppo," and continues such most of the way to Richmond.

* From the Bridge it is fourteen miles to the Peaks of Otter. In the maps the distance exceeds forty miles. I found basaltick stones scattered in great abundance about a mile from the bridge.

CHAPTER XXXV.

MONTICELLO.

Having an introduction to Mr. Jefferson, I ascended his little mountain on a fine morning, which gave the situation its due effect. The whole of the sides and base are covered with forest, through which roads have been cut circularly, so that the winding may be shortened or prolonged at pleasure: the summit is an open lawn, near to the south side of which the house is built, with its garden just descending the brow: the saloon, or central hall, is ornamented with several pieces of antique sculpture, Indian arms, Mammoth bones, and other curiosities collected from various parts of the Union. I found Mr. Jefferson tall in person, but stooping and lean with old age, thus exhibiting that fortunate mode of bodily decay, which strips the frame of its most cumbersome parts, leaving it still strength of muscle and activity of limb. His deportment was exactly such as the Marquis de Chastellux describes it, above thirty years ago: "At first serious, nay even cold," but in a very short time relaxing into a most agreeable amenity; with an unabated flow of conversation on the most interesting topicks, discussed in the most gentlemanly and philosophical manner. I walked with him round his grounds, to visit his pet trees, and improvements of various kinds: during the walk, he pointed out to my observation a conical mountain, rising singly at the edge of the southern horizon of the landscape: its distance he said, was 40 miles, and its dimensions those of the greater Egyptian pyramid; so that it ac-

curately represents the appearance of the pyramid at the same distance; there is a small cleft visible on its summit, through which, the true meridian of Monticello exactly passes: its most singular property, however, is, that on different occasions it looms, or alters its appearance, becoming sometimes cylindrical, sometimes square, and sometimes assuming the form of an inverted cone. Mr. Jefferson had not been able to connect this phenomenon with any particular season, or state of the atmosphere, except, that it most commonly occurred in the forenoon. He observed, that it was not only wholly unaccounted for by the laws of vision, but that it had not as yet engaged the attention of philosophers so far as to acquire a name; that of looming, being in fact, a term applied by sailors, to appearances of a similar kind at sea. The Blue Mountains are also observed to loom, though not in so remarkable a degree.*

It must be interesting to recall and preserve the political sentiments of a man who has held so distinguished a station in publick life as Mr. Jefferson. He seemed to consider much of the freedom and happiness of America to arise from local circumstances. "Our population," he observed, "has an elasticity, by which it would fly off from oppressive taxation." He instanced the beneficial effects of a free government, in the case of New Orleans, where many proprietors who were in a state of indigence under the dominion of Spain, have risen to sudden wealth, solely by the rise in the value of land, which followed a change of government. Their ingenuity in mechanical inventions, agricultural improvements, and that mass of general information to be found among Americans of all ranks and conditions, he ascribed to that ease of circumstances, which afforded them leisure to cultivate their minds, after the cultivation of

* Vide, for a more detailed account of this phenomenon, in Notes on Virginia, p. 122.

their lands was completed.—In fact, I have frequently been surprised to find mathematical and other useful works in houses, which seemed to have little pretension to the luxury of learning. Another cause, Mr. Jefferson observed, might be discovered in the many court and county meetings, which brought men frequently together on publick business, and thus gave them habits, both of thinking and of expressing their thoughts on subjects, which in other countries are confined to the consideration of the privileged few. Mr. Jefferson has not the reputation of being very friendly to England: we should, however, be aware, that a partiality in this respect is not absolutely the duty of an American citizen; neither is it to be expected that the policy of our government should be regarded in foreign countries, with the same complacency with which it is looked upon by ourselves: but whatever may be his sentiments in this respect, politeness naturally repressed any offensive expression of them: he talked of our affairs with candour, and apparent good will, though leaning, perhaps, to the gloomier side of the picture. He did not perceive by what means we could be extricated from our present financial embarrassments, without some kind of revolution in our government: on my replying, that our habits were remarkably steady, and that great sacrifices would be made to prevent a violent catastrophe, he acceded to the observation, but demanded, if those who made the sacrifices, would not require some political reformation in return. His repugnance was strongly marked to the despotick principles of Bonaparte, and he seemed to consider France under Louis XVI. as scarcely capable of a republican form of government; but added, that the present generation of Frenchmen had grown up with sounder notions, which would probably lead to their emancipation. Relative to the light in which he views the conduct of the Allied Sovereigns, I cannot do better than insert a letter of his to Dr. Logan,

dated 18th October, 1815, and published in the American Newspapers:

"Dear Sir,—I thank you for the extract in yours of August 16th, respecting the Emperour Alexander. It arrived here a day or two after I had left this place, from which I have been absent about seven or eight weeks. I had from other information, formed the most favourable opinion of the virtues of the Emperour Alexander, and considered his partiality to this country as a prominent proof of them. The magnanimity of his conduct on the first capture of Paris, still magnified every thing we had believed of him; but how he will come out of his present trial, remains to be seen: that the sufferings which France had inflicted on other countries, justified some reprisals, cannot be questioned, but I have not yet learned what crimes Poland, Saxony, Belgium, Venice, Lombardy, and Genoa, had merited for them, not merely a temporary punishment, but that of permanent subjugation, and a destitution of independence and self-government. The fable of Æsop and the Lion dividing the spoils, is, I fear, becoming true history, and the moral code of Napoleon and the English government, a substitute for that of Grotius, of Puffendorf, and even of the pure doctrines of the great author of our own religion. We were safe ourselves from Bonaparte, because he had not the British fleets at his command. We were safe from the British fleets, because they had Bonaparte at their back, but the British fleets, and the conquerors of Bonaparte, being now combined, and the Hartford nation drawn off to them, we have uncommon reason to look to our own affairs. This, however, I leave to others, offering prayers to Heaven, the only contribution of old age, for the safety of our country. Be so good as to present me affectionately to Mrs. Logan, and to accept, yourself, the assurance of my esteem and respect.

"T. JEFFERSON."

The same anxiety for his country's independence seems to have led him to a change of opinion on the relative importance of manufactories in America. He thus expresses himself, in answer to an address from the American society for the encouragement of manufactories: "I have read with great satisfaction, the eloquent pamphlet you were so kind as to send me, and sympathize with every line of it. I was once a doubter, whether the labour of the cultivator, aided by the creative powers of the earth itself, would not produce more value than that of the manufacturer alone, and unassisted by the dead subject on which he acted; in other words, whether the more we could bring into action of the energies of our boundless territory, in addition to the labour of our citizens, the more would not be our gain. But the inventions of the latter times, by labour-saving machines, do as much now for the manufacturer, as the earth for the cultivator. Experience too, has proved that mine was but half the question; the other half is, whether dollars and cents are to be weighed in the scale against real independence. The question is then solved, at least so far as respects our own wants. I much fear the effect on our infant establishment, of the policy avowed by Mr. Brougham, and quoted in the pamphlet. Individual British merchants may lose by the late immense importations; but British commerce and manufactories in the mass will gain, by beating down the competition of ours in our own markets, &c."

The conversation turning on American history, Mr. Jefferson related an anecdote of the Abbé Raynal, which serves to shew how history, even when it calls itself philosophical, is written. The Abbé was in company with Dr. Franklin, and several Americans at Paris, when mention chanced to be made of his anecdote of Polly Baker, related in his sixth volume, upon which one of the company observed, that no such law as that alluded to in the story, existed in New England: the Abbé stoutly maintained the

authenticity of his tale, when Dr. Franklin, who had hitherto remained silent, said, "I can account for all this; you took the anecdote from a newspaper, of which I was at that time editor, and, happening to be very short of news, I composed and inserted the whole story." "Ah! Doctor," said the Abbé making a true French retreat, "I had rather have your stories, than other men's truths."

Mr. Jefferson preferred Botta's Italian History of the American Revolution, to any that had yet appeared, remarking, however, the inaccuracy of the speeches. Indeed, the true history of that period seems to be generally considered as lost: A remarkable letter on this point, lately appeared in print, from the venerable Mr. John Adams, to a Mr. Niles, who had solicited his aid to collect and publish a body of revolutionary speeches. He says, "Of all the speeches made in Congress, from 1774 to 1777, inclusive, of both years, not one sentence remains, except a few periods of Dr. Witherspoon, printed in his works." His concluding sentence is very strong. "In plain English, and in a few words, Mr. Niles, I consider the true history of the American revolution, and the establishment of our present constitutions, as lost for ever; and nothing but misrepresentations, or partial accounts of it, will ever be recovered."

I slept a night at Monticello, and left it in the morning, with such a feeling as the traveller quits the mouldering remains of a Grecian temple, or the pilgrim a fountain in the desert. It would indeed argue great torpor, both of understanding and heart, to have looked without veneration and interest, on the man who drew up the declaration of American Independence; who shared in the councils by which her freedom was established; whom the unbought voice of his fellow-citizens called to the exercise of a dignity, from which his own moderation impelled him, when such example was most salutary, to withdraw; and who, while he dedicates the evening of his glo-

rious days to the pursuits of science and literature, shuns none of the humbler duties of private life; but, having filled a seat higher than that of kings, succeeds with graceful dignity to that of the good neighbour, and becomes the friendly adviser, lawyer, physician, and even gardener of his vicinity. This is the "still small voice" of philosophy, deeper and holier than the lightnings and earthquakes which have preceded it. What monarch would venture thus to exhibit himself in the nakedness of his humanity? On what royal brow would the laurel replace the diadem? But they who are born and educated to be kings, are not expected to be philosophers. This is a just answer, though no great compliment either to the governours or the governed.

My travels had nearly terminated at the Rivannah, which flows at the foot of Monticello: in trying to ford it, my horse and waggon were carried down the stream: I escaped with my servant, and by the aid of Mr. Jefferson's domesticks, we finally succeeded in extricating my equipage from a watery grave. The road to Richmond follows the James River, and has few features to attract notice. There are no towns, and very few villages. Of the taverns, I have only to remark, that Mrs. Tisley's is a clean, comfortable house, and that Mr. Powell is a very civil landlord.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

RICHMOND.

"RICHMOND," says the author of "Letters from Virginia," (and I prefer the lively tints of his pencil to my own wintry colouring,) "is situated on the north bank of James River, about a hundred and twenty miles from its mouth, at the Falls, or head of tide water. It is built chiefly upon two lofty hills, the northern of which is called Shockoe, (some Indian name I suppose,) and the southern, Richmond. The former of these furnishes a fine extensive plain on its summit, and is the principal seat for dwelling-houses, the Capitol, and other publick buildings of the city. The two hills are separated by a large valley, which again is divided by a little stream that runs murmuring through it, till it falls into the river at the foot of them; and parallel to the James is a long street, perhaps more than a mile in length, chiefly built up with brick houses, for stores and other purposes, hence called the brick row. In a line with this, and still nearer to the river, are smaller streets of less importance, principally occupied by warehouses, and, at the end of it, lies the port for vessels at the head of the navigation, which they call Rocketts. The situation of the place is picturesque and beautiful beyond my expectation, even after all I had heard of it. The river before the town, is about half a mile wide, and is obstructed, not only by the rocks, which constitute the Falls, but by several wild and fanciful islands, among which it flows with a loud and agreeable murmur, very

audible in the stillness of the night. Before you, on the opposite side, lies the neat little village of Manchester, with its fine green fields and meadows, skirted with groves of woods, and rising hills, that seem to undulate in the western horizon. Below, the stream having disengaged itself from the rocks, steals silently away from your eye, hiding itself among the trees, and appearing again at a little distance, shining in the sun, and reflecting the white sails of coming and departing vessels on its silver bosom. Besides all this, the neighbourhood abounds with the finest walks, prospects, groves, and, in short, every convenience for sighing, that the lover or the poet could desire." As a drawback to these beauties, "the private houses are generally without taste. They are indeed, for the most part, built of coarse bricks, blackened by being burnt with coal, which gives rather a sombre air to the town, in spite of all the glitter of wealth and fashion in the streets. With the publick buildings too, where more might be expected, the case is not a great deal better. The Governour's house is but an ordinary affair at best. The Capitol, indeed, (though it will not bear a critical eye,) standing on the brow of the Shockoe hill, and overlooking the surrounding city, and country, presents a fine bold object in the picture from almost every direction. Its interiour is divided into various apartments for the publick offices, courts, and the two houses of the General Assembly. These are spacious and convenient enough; but without any peculiar elegance. In the antichamber, or passage, is a fine marble statue of Washington, executed by our countryman, Houdon, in his best style. Opposite to it, in a niche in the wall, stands a bust of the Marquis La Fayette, probably by the same artist. It is, perhaps, a strong proof of the veneration in which the originals are held, that the sculptures are not mutilated, though they are works of taste. With regard to the in-

habitants (always the best or worst part of a city,) I am sorry to say they are not exactly to my taste; that is, not all of them. Perhaps, indeed, I am hardly well enough acquainted to form a correct judgment at present; but I must confess they do not strike me very agreeably at first sight. At least, the higher classes (as they doubtless consider themselves in spite of their republican government) appear to have put on a set of manners by which they probably design to please themselves, for they surely cannot intend to please any body else. These generally live in a state of ambitious rivalship with one another, each endeavouring to surpass his neighbour in fashion and folly, a very unprofitable contest at best. After these gentry, however, (who, indeed, are chiefly of foreign extraction, I believe,) you may meet with many of the true old Virginia breed, frank, generous, and hospitable, whom it is a real pleasure to shake by the hand. For the ladies, they are generally like the rest of their fair countrywomen, and certainly exhibit a great deal, if not 'all, that the eye looks for, and the heart desires in woman.'" —Letter xxi.

It is not to be expected that my experience of a week empowers me either to confirm, or refute, this censure: as far, however, as it went, I found the inhabitants of Richmond polite and affable, and well disposed to admit strangers to their societies and amusements.

Of the Virginian character, generally, my impressions were not favourable. They seem, especially the plantation-bred Virginians, to have more pretension than good sense: the insubordination, in which they glory, both to parental and scholastick authority, produces, as might be expected, a petulance of manner, and frothiness of intellect, very unlike what we may imagine of the old Romans, to whom, in their modesty, the Virginians affect to compare themselves. —Having given four Presidents to the United States,

they are fain to suppose they have obtained a monopoly of genius, as well as of power, and hold in true regal disdain the honest simplicity of their Yankey brethren. These observations do not, however, apply to the inhabitants of the Upper Country, who seem to be generally a race of plain industrious farmers, with both the sound sense, and unaffected manner, peculiar to this class of people throughout the Union.

As the Virginians feel destined to govern, and as persuasion is a necessary instrument for this purpose, eloquence is their favourite study; but one of their contrymen is best able to describe their efforts and success:—"The people of this State insist upon it, that they have the patent right for making speeches. Eloquence, indeed, (of some sort or other) is almost the only road to fame and influence in the State. Every youth, of course, who has been led to believe that he has any talents at all, immediately turns his whole attention to the science of spouting. The consequence is, that the land is literally over-run with orators of all sorts and sizes, almost as numerous and noisy as the frogs in the plague of Egypt.—In the first place, we have the political spouters, who are found in every hole and corner of the favoured land; but particularly in the court-yard and tavern. The tavern, especially, seems to be a very favourite haunt for these young orators; whether it is that the long porch invites them by certain classical associations, from its resemblance to the schools of some among the ancient rhetoricians; or rather, as others suppose, that the bar-room contains some secret stimulants of eloquence, more sovereign than all the precepts of Quintilian. It is, indeed, very amusing to hear one of these talking Jacks (as you may call them,) when it has been properly screwed up, seated by the fire, and unwinding itself in long discourses upon liberty, the rights of man, the freedom of the seas, general suffrage, or something of that sort. Its

whole conversation is one incessant harangue. Indeed, to speak strictly, it never converses at all; but declaims upon you without any reasonable allowance for the delicacy of your ears. And yet, really when it cocks its feet up against the mantle-piece, its favourite oratorical attitude, and lets out, as they call it, you can form no idea how eloquent it is.—Next in order to these come the 'Fourth of July Orators,' or as they would doubtless prefer to be styled, the 'Orators of the Human Race.' These are men who set up once a year (generally in very hot weather) to proclaim their independence with a loud voice, and abuse the British *con amore*. In fact, they sometimes carry their malice so far, as to vent their spite upon the very language they speak in, its unoffending parts of speech, and innocent rules of syntax, only because they are English, I presume. Nothing seems to be requisite for the perfection of these things, but a plenty of hard names, abuse against tyranny and oppression, a panegyrick upon liberty, and five or six apostrophes to the dead heroes of the revolution; the whole accompanied with an entire new set of mouths and faces made on purpose for the occasion. Add to this, the words selected for this service must all be as long as possible, *sesquipedalia verba;* or tri-syllables at least; and none under that size should be received, any more than a man under six feet could have been admitted into the King of Prussia's tall regiment. I can only say of them, as poor *Desdemona* said of the mad speeches of her jealous husband,

> "I understand a fury in the words;
> "But not the words—"

"But besides these engaging speakers, we have still another class of orators, called Slang-whangers, who are also sometimes known by the name of Stump-orators, from their generally choosing to deliver

their harangues from the stump of a tree, or a horse-block, or some other appropriate place of this sort. For you must know, these are the men who undertake to regulate elections, and to change the votes in the court-yard, before the opening of the poll. I have observed they are all passionately fond of the word Republican; which seems to comprise all the excellence of oratory in itself, and is generally looked upon as a very good substitute for both reason and common sense."—Letters from Virginia,—Letter xxii.

The same lively writer thus describes the importation of foreign impostors, who play off on the credulity of his countrymen:

"All the nations of Europe are very generous to us in this way, and we have no right to complain of any of them for not furnishing its full quota. Indeed, they all seem to pity our poor republicanism, and very cheerfully club their mites to give us a decent stock of their cast-off gentry, to keep up our credit in the world. Our old friend, Great Britain, in particular, is very good to us indeed. Perhaps she thinks it but right to make us some amends for the shabby population she gave us to begin with. However this may be, she is certainly most bountiful in her supplies of great men: though to be sure she does not send her grand dignitaries themselves, but only their cousins and acquaintances,—good enough for our market. Thus we can shew men who have corrected the speeches of Pitt, at his own request, rattled a box with Charles, or even betted against the Prince of Wales at Newmarket; but, after all, these are little fellows by the side of the French marquisses and marshals of the empire."—Letter xxiii.

This cullability of Virginians the writer attributes to vanity, and a passion for whatever comes from Europe, to which they are still in the habit of looking up for models in every thing:—"Above all," he adds, "Republicans as they are, they have a hu-

man hankering after lords and gentry ; and, as beggars must never be choosers, it is right for them to put up with such as they can get."—Letter xxiii.

Let me close these extracts (and they contain, perhaps, no little satirical exaggeration) with a trait of feeling, which, as an Englishman, I cannot but consider as honourable to the Virginian character. The Attorney General of the State, at a late publick dinner, gave as a toast, " Wilson, Bruce, and Hutchinson ! The age of chivalry is not past, nor the glory of Europe extinguished for ever."

CHAPTER XXXVII.

RICHMOND TO CHARLESTON.

	Manchester	1 1-2	Miles
Jan. 17th,	Petersburg	22 1-2	
	Billings Tavern	9	
	Harrisville	23 1-2	
	Percival's Tavern	11 1-4	
	Gholson's Tavern	9 1-2	
18th,	*North Carolina*	13 3-4	
	Warrenton	16 3-4	
19th,	Louisburg	25	
	Adcock's Tavern	15 1-2	
20th,	Raleigh	16 1-4	
	Averisboro'	35	
21st,	Fayetteville	25 1-2	
	Counsell's Tavern	15 1-4	
	Lumberton	17 1-2	
	Rowland's Tavern	13 3-4	
	South Carolina	6 3-4	
22d,	Newsome's Tavern	11 3-4	
	Stage house	13 3 4	
	G. Pedee River	14 1-2	
	Lynch's Creek	4 1 2	
	China Grove	15 1-2	
	Black River	7 1-2	
23d,	Georgetown	14	
	Santee River	15 3-4	
	Tweden Cottons	10 1-4	
	Wapetaw Church	17 1-2	
	Greenwich	14 3-4	
24th,	Charleston	3 3-4	
		421 3-4	

A glance at the foregoing table indicates the state of the country. The stages are no longer marked by towns and villages, but by solitary taverns and stage-houses. The best part of the country lies betwixt Petersburg and Fayetteville, being within the limits of the granite ledge: the soil is a mixture of

sand and clay, tolerably fertile: the woods are generally of oak, hickory, and walnut, with here and there pine-barrens, and swamps: — but I can say little of the state or appearance of the Carolinas, for at Richmond I exchanged my convenient Dearborn for a seat in the mail, to be conveyed at its discretion to Charleston.

In New England they have adopted the fashion of our stage-coaches; but the primitive "democratical machine" is still used in the Southern states; to embark in one of which is no light service, for they break down on an average twice a week, so that the wrecks and the maimed are always to be found on the road. Betwixt Richmond and Petersburg all was well: the weather was fine, and our horses ran away but twice, killed but one pig, and lamed but one passenger: but on the morning of the 18th the wind came from south to north-west, and brought down the thermometer to 14° with a heavy fall of snow, in which we set off in the dark, packed in every posture of purgatory, with trunks, packages and elbows, squeezing and distorting our shivering limbs, while we were, at the same time, cheered with the anticipation of being upset among the holes and swamps, which, now concealed by snow, were to be guessed at in the dark by our negro coachman, who, to do him justice, managed the matter with what seemed to me, miraculous dexterity. I was not sorry to halt at Warrenton, and await the next day's mail; but in one night the Roanoke was frozen over, and the ferry stopped, so I went on to Fox's tavern, near Louisburg, in a private conveyance with a gentleman I fell in with at the tavern.

I had occasion, during this part of my journey, to feel the truth of a common remark, that one suffers more through cold in a temperate, or even warm climate, than in a cold one. The cold in Canada is so completely subdued by stoves within, and furs without doors, that it seldom causes inconvenience; whereas in Carolina, where I expected to have escaped

its dominion, it made travelling highly disagreeable. The houses are all built of scantling, and are worse than any thing in the form of dwellings, but the negro huts; for they are penetrable at every crevice; while, from the usual mildness of the weather, doors have become altogether released from the duty of being shut. Indeed they have seldom a latch, and Mr. Fox, to whom I was deploring this neglect, observed, that they generally considered a door's being shut as a sign nobody was at home. It must, however, be noticed, that they had not, for many years, experienced such a severe cold as the present. The crew of a schooner, on lake Ponchartrain, was frozen to death on the 18th. On the same day the mercury descended, at Baltimore, to 6° below zero, a more intense cold than was ever remembered to have been felt there. At Charleston it was down to 17°, and I found all the orange-trees with their fruit looking as if seared by fire. Near Raleigh a man was frozen to death on the 19th, yet, when I was there, on the 21st, the thermometer rose to 71°.

Raleigh is the capital of North Carolina, and seems a clean, little country town. At one end of the principal, or rather, only street, stands the Governour's brick-house, and at the other the senate, or court-house, surrounded by a grass plot neatly laid out. The houses are small, and built of scantling. Some of them have their foundations of the talcous granite of the ledge, which is the only stone in the country. The total want of limestone, and scarcity of brick earth, render it extremely difficult and expensive, to give buildings any degree of stability. The stage stops half a day at Raleigh, which enabled me to have a morning's quail shooting with two gentlemen, one of whom had fallen in love with my pointer, on my alighting at the tavern; and if any conclusion can be drawn from two chance specimens, society at Raleigh is by no means in a pitiable condition.

At Fayetteville the road again crosses the granite ledge, and traverses a desolate tract of swamp and

sandy pine-woods to Georgetown. In all this distance, Lumberton is the only clump of houses to which courtesy can apply the name of a village: the tavern here is kept by a general of militia, who seemed, indeed, to have more of the spirit of the soldier than of the landlord, for he declined taking payment for the refreshment he very civilly prepared for me. A tract of country like the above can have little variety of scenery; the heavy dreariness of the pine-barrens was, however, sometimes relieved by the verdure of the swamps, which were covered with bright evergreens, through which the road frequently ran for some distance, as through a park shrubbery.

Our passage of the Pedee was picturesque enough, but the colouring was something too sombre to be beautiful: we approached the river at night; several creeks were previously to be crossed; a heavy shower had fallen and frozen on its descent, so that every branch and twig was incased in ice: the banks of these creeks were high; the bridges consisted merely of pine-logs laid cross-ways, without parapet or railing; they were now as slippery as glass, and the horses, as is usual in these sandy roads, had no shoes. I was dozing in the dark when I was awakened by the voice of the driver, vowing that nothing should tempt him to encounter a danger like that he had just escaped. He had past one bridge, another remained, and he kept his vow: but what was to be done to escape sleeping in the woods? The bridge might be avoided by an old road through a swamp, supposed to be impassable: here, however, we were to make the attempt. Branches of pine were cut and lighted for torches, and we proceeded through the woods. After some mistakes and more oaths we found the bog, which indicated we were in the right way—"to be upset," I said to myself; but we dashed through it up to the traces, with crash, whip, and halloo. Such an equipage, in such a place, with the torches, and negroes, and harsh sounds, more

resembled a vehicle for the transport of the damned to their infernal dwelling, than a stage-coach in a rational country. Nor was the resemblance diminished when we arrived at the river brink: a fire was kindled, and gleamed redly on the black-looking stream below; and after many blasts of the horn, an old canoe, steered by a shivering negro, wrapt in a blanket, came to ferry us over: "*Nochier della livida palude.*" With difficulty we stowed ourselves into his wet, crazy bark, and were landed in the mud on the opposite shore, whence we scrambled to the ferry-house and tavern. It was now four in the morning; a sharp visaged old woman was waiting our arrival, and had prepared a meal of no tempting aspect, which she chose to call supper, and which it was expected passengers should pay for, if not eat. The driver's man, who had crossed with us, now wanted to return: the old woman began to rouse the negro, who, shivering in the cold fit of an ague, had crept to his hut; he replied to her shrill tones that he was too ill to come out, and should die if she forced him; "You can die but once," said the beldame, "so come you must." This man was an African, and could scarcely speak English intelligibly; doubtless, however, he felt the blessed exchange from his own barbarous country to a land of reason and liberty.

A singular peculiarity of vegetation marks the proximity of the coast. The trees within thirty miles of it are covered with a curious vegetable drapery, which hangs from them in long curling tendrils, of a gray or pale green colour. It bears a small blue flower, succeeded by a plumed seed, which adheres to the bark of trees. The live oak seems its most genial soil; but it suspends itself from trees and shrubs of every description; and as it has no tenacity, but hangs like loose gauze drapery, it probably does them no injury. The Carolinians use it for stuffing matrasses, and they observe it is never found without the range of the yellow fever.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CHARLESTON.

Streets unpaved and narrow, small wooden houses, from among which rise, in every quarter of the town, stately mansions, surrounded from top to bottom with broad verandas, and standing within little gardens full of orange trees, palmettoes, and magnolias, are features which give Charleston an expression belonging rather to the south of Europe, than to the Teutonick cities of the north. Perhaps, taking into view its large black population and glowing temperature in January, it is not very unlike some of the cities on the Mediterranean coast of Africa.* In other respects it is a noble monument of what human avarice can effect: its soil is a barren burning sand; with a river on either side, overflowing into pestilential marshes, which exhale a contagion so pernicious as to render sleeping a single night within its influence, during the summer months, an experiment of the utmost hazard. Even the town is no place of refuge during the hottest part of the season: all the inhabitants who can afford it, then fly to a barren sandbank in the harbour, called Sullivan's Island, containing one well, and a few palmettoes: here they dwell in miserable wooden tenements, trembling in every storm, lest, (as very frequently happens,) their hiding places should be blown from over their heads, or

* I observed another Orientalism; the office of scavengers is filled by carrion vultures, who are protected by law for their services, and entitled to devour all offal under the guarantee of the republick.

deluged by an inundation of the sea. But what will not men do, and bear, for money? These pestilential marshes are found to produce good rice, and the adjacent alluvions cotton; true it is, no European frame could support the labour of cultivation, but Africa can furnish slaves, and thus, amid contagion and suffering, both of oppressors and oppressed, has Charleston become a wealthy city—nay, a religious one too; to judge by the number of churches built, building, and to be built.

I inquired the cause of what seemed to me an anomaly in the history of planters, and was informed, that this devotional access came on about the period of the French revolution, in consequence of very severe alarm at the danger to which religion and social order were exposed. The Carolinians proceeded in consequence to amend their lives, not as a mere moralist might have imagined, by amending their slave code, by providing for the instruction, and paving the way for the total emancipation of the many thousands of their fellow-creatures, whom they held in stripes and bondage. This, indeed, would have been, to a certain extent, imitating the revolutionists themselves; they therefore took, not only an easier course, but one they had reason to think much more acceptable, because a more personal compliment, to the Deity whom they professed to serve; they built, and frequented many churches, heard, and read many sermons, and bought and sold their brethren as before.

Charleston has a great reputation for hospitality, a virtue very generally conceded to the Americans, even by those, who are willing to deny them every other: in my judgment, their fame in this respect, as much exceeds their deserving, as in most other cases it falls below it. Hospitality, in the true sense of the word, means that liberal entertainment, which spreads a couch and table for the stranger, merely because he is a stranger: this was the hospitality of the an-

cients, and is still that of the Arabs, Tartars, and uncorrupted Indian tribes; it was also that of the Americans themselves in a less advanced state of society: Mr. Jefferson told me, that in his fathers time, it was no uncommon thing for gentlemen to post their servants on the main road, for the purpose of amicably way-laying, and bringing to their houses any travellers who might chance to pass. Of such violence not a particle is now to be apprehended, at least in the old States. While I was in the north, I was constantly told of the hospitality of the south: At Philadelphia, I fond it ice-bound, at Baltimore there was indeed a thaw, but at Washington the frost, probably from the congenial influence of politicks, was harder than ever; the thermometer rose but little at Richmond, and, when I arrived at Charleston, I was entertained, not with its own hospitality, but with an eulogium upon that of Boston.—I did not retrace my steps, to put the matter to proof.—The experience of an individual would not be very conclusive, were hospitality a discriminating virtue; but its essence is prodigality, and the name of stranger, the only requisite passport to its favour. Of such hospitality, the traveller will find nothing,* except, indeed, his rank or character should be such, as to give an eclat to his entertainers. The ordinary pilgrim must be content, if his letters of introduction procure him, as they certainly will, a courteous reception, and a dinner. He will also find a ready and polite admission into general society. And this ought to satisfy him.

* If I have any where in my travels spoken of hospitality, it was for want of a better word to express the politeness with which a stranger is occasionally entertained. Of true hospitality I met with but two instances, one in a young Farmer, who lived on the Grand River, and who, though in very middling circumstances, most liberally received and entertained me, during my visit to the Indian Settlements. The other at Mrs. Nairn's, where a table and bed are always prepared for travellers. I might, perhaps, make a third of the rosy Priest of Les Eboulemens.

As long as there are taverns open he has no claim, and every civility is a matter of grace. The human mind, is, however, slow to discard an opinion it has once cherished. Hospitality is still talked of, both by Americans and strangers, as if it were still alive. The free reciprocation of civilities betwixt citizens of different states, when connected by commercial or other ties, fosters the delusion. The New York merchant is liberally entertained at Charleston, and he of Charleston receives an adequate return of civilities at New York. This is not hospitality, but a mutual exchange, founded on mutual convenience. Let not, however, a change of customs be considered a reproach. Society has, in all countries, moved through the same gradations, and each stage of its progress has been marked by its appropriate virtues, crimes, and follies. Hospitality belongs to that period, which in a certain point of view, is to be styled barbarous; and would become a super-human virtue, were it to survive the moment when it ceases to be as pleasing to the entertainer as necessary to his guest. It probably still lingers on the banks of the Mississippi, it will accompany the advanced guard of settlers down the shores of the Missouri; be driven from thence to the neighbourhood of the Columbia, and finally drowned in the Pacifick.

I sailed from Charleston on the 22d of February, and on the 30th of March welcomed the hills of my country.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

OF SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

THERE seems little in slavery and slave dealing to captivate either the judgment or the heart, yet they have always found advocates, not merely among dealers and planters, but men who appear to love them for themselves: this too without any natural sympathy with cruelty, for many would shudder to inflict on an individual of their acquaintance, an iota of the suffering they uphold as fit to be the portion and daily bread of thousands, but from the influence of authority, prejudice, or from an inaptitude to investigate any subject beyond the line of their ordinary occupations.

As such persons scarcely affect to reason, or inquire, it is difficult to discover on what grounds they rest their opinions: the few who pretend to speak from experience, have seldom more to urge than the experience of good West-India dinners; and how can any thing be wrong where people dine so well? The many, who have made up their minds by mere dint of not thinking on the matter, take fast hold upon some one of the many bold falsehoods, or skilful sophisms, with which those interested in the traffick are ever ready to furnish such as find it

troublesome, or fancy it unsafe, to use their own understandings;—as for instance—

Negro slaves are better off than the poorer classes in many European countries.—They are quite contented with their situation, except when perverted by their pretended friends.—It is the proprietor's interest to use them well, and therefore he does use them well;—or the abolitionists are methodists, jacobins, or enthusiasts, and therefore unfit to be trusted with reforms of any kind; besides, slavery has existed time out of mind, and why is the present generation to pretend to more wisdom and humanity than their forefathers? Their very good nature leads them to disbelieve most of the cruelties they hear related as connected with the slave-system, or should the evidence of particular facts occasionally overpower their prejudice, they readily admit, that as negroes are constitutionally different from white men, they require a different treatment; so that what may seem harsh to us, and would in fact be harsh to people of our complexion, is no more to them than a salubrious regimen. Such advocates, however contemptible as logicians, are of great numerical importance. They constitute the standing army of corruption in all shapes; are always to be found among the supporters of power, and may be depended on as the steady friends of whatever is established. To the efforts of the enlightened few, they oppose the inert resistance of impassive matter; a resistance which gains respect by seeming disinterested, and remains unassailable, because, like the tortoise, it presents no vital point of attack. Self-interest takes the field with better armour, and more enterprise, but the combat would be short-lived, did he not, after each discomfiture, find refuge within the shell of his simple ally. Fortunately, this class of good sort of credulous gentlemen, is less numerous in the States than elsewhere: few can be uninformed, or are unaccustomed practically to examine every ques-

tion connected with the publick weal; and this disposition has been highly favourable to the cause of emancipation.

Slavery has been formally excluded from the constitution of each state admitted into the Union since Kentucky. Even in Virginia, it seems to have few supporters out of the immediate classes of dealers and planters. During my journey through the upper, and mountainous parts of the country, I had frequent occasion to hear farmers, and men of all descriptions, express their dislike to it, not indeed, as a violation of humanity, but as a political evil, which substituted bad labour for good, an unsound population for an healthy one. In fact, the only description of cultivators really interested in its preservation, are the planters of the coast-line, whose infectious rice-grounds can be cultivated by negroes only: here therefore the resistance to its abolition will be lasting and steady; but even here nature interposes to diminish the evil. Experience begins to teach, that health and labour are preferable to indolence and disease. The low marshy coast-lands are daily abandoned, while the mountain-country is peopling with its emigrants. So much is this the case, that I was told by many, that the wolves and bears which formerly inhabited the latter, have succeeded to the wildernesses of the former, in which they are now almost exclusively to be found. Another favourable circumstance is, that rice-lands make no adequate return if beyond the reach of the tidewater; but the rivers of the Carolinas and Georgia, descending through a sandy flat, arrive at the sea with so little force of current, that they are unable to remove the sand-banks and other obstructions constantly forming at their mouths: the harbours are therefore becoming more and more unsafe: the bar of Charleston is with difficulty passable by a vessel of 300 tons, except under very favourable circumstances of wind and tide. From the

same causes, the ascent of the tide inland is continually diminishing, and the quantity of land favourable to the culture of rice, necessarily decreases in the same proportion.

Thus, while the Eastern and Central States aggregately, and the most enlightened individuals of all states, continue to wage the combat of humanity, the dominion of slavery is narrowed on every side, and the hope may be indulged, that its total extinction is neither improbable, nor even very far distant.

It remains to satisfy a melancholy curiosity respecting the actual condition of slaves in the United States both in law and fact. Information on the latter point is little attainable by a cursory traveller. The planter will not present himself to his examination, with his memorandum book of the stripes and tortures he has inflicted, and of the groans which have followed: the information he affords, should he afford any, must come through a doubly distorted medium; as a planter he is interested in concealing whatever militates against the slave system: as an American he is interested in vindicating the national character to a foreigner. The testimony of the slave would gain no credit from the enemies to his emancipation; nor will travelling through the country suffice to shew the workings of a system, the most odious part of which is necessarily withdrawn from the publick eye. I can therefore delineate such broad outlines only as are incapable of concealment; leaving, not to the imagination, but to inductive reason, the filling up of the picture.

The law by which slaves and free-men of colour are governed in the Carolinas (and I believe the same, or a similar code prevails in all the Slave States) is a Provincial Act past in 1740, and made perpetual in 1763. It commences by a heart chilling enunciation;

"Whereas in his Majesty's Plantations, &c. Slavery has been allowed, be it enacted, That all negroes, mulattoes, &c. who are, or shall hereafter be, in this province, and all their issue and offspring, born, and to be born, shall be, and are hereby declared to be, and remain for ever hereafter absolute Slaves." A clause follows from which the most iniquitous oppressions are at this day deduced; "It shall always be presumed that every negro is a slave unless the contrary can be made appear."

The 9th clause gives two justices of the peace, and three, of five freeholders, the power of trying slaves for capital offences, and of carrying their sentence into effect; that is of inflicting such manner of death "as they shall judge will be most effectual to deter others from offending in like manner."

The 13th clause admits the evidence of all free negroes, and of any slave against a slave "without oath."

Clause 14th. "And whereas slaves may be harboured, &c. by free negroes, and such free negroes may escape punishment for want of sufficient and legal evidence against them, be it enacted, That the evidence of any free Indian, negro, &c. or slave, without oath, shall in like manner be allowed and admitted against such free negroes, &c.

The 34th clause prohibits any master from suffering a slave to traffick on his own account, thus cutting off the most unobjectionable mode by which the slave of a benevolent master might ascend, through an equality of condition, to an equality of rights with the white man.

The 37th clause presents an exquisite specimen of that legislative cant and cruelty with which the governments of all nations, from time to time, edify their country and mankind; "And whereas cruelty is not only highly unbecoming those who profess themselves Christians, but is odious in the eyes of

all men who have any sense of virtue or humanity, therefore, to restrain and prevent barbarity from being exercised towards slaves, be it enacted, That any person wilfully murdering a slave shall forfeit 700*l.* currency, (*i. e.* 100*l.* sterling:) and if any person shall on a sudden heat and passion, or by undue correction, kill his own slave, or slave of another person, he shall forfeit 350*l.* currency, (*i. e.* 50*l.* sterling.")

The 38th enacts a penalty of 14*l.* for cutting out the tongue, dismembering and other tortures, inflicted by any other instrument than a horsewhip, cowskin, or small stick.

The 39th is a legislative premium upon perjury; it enacts, That when a slave is maimed or cruelly used, his owner shall be presumed guilty; "unless he clear himself by evidence, or make oath to the contrary."

By clause 43d any white man meeting above seven slaves on a high road together "shall and may whip each of them, not exceeding twenty lashes on the bare back."

The 45th inflicts a penalty of 100*l.* currency for teaching a slave to write.

Such is the code by which Christians govern Christians; nor is it, in any point, a dead letter. The fears of the proprietors are tremblingly alive, and racked with the dread of an insurrection, in which they must expect the measure they have meted. A military police is constantly kept up in Charleston, and every man of colour, whether slave or free, found in the streets after dark, without a pass, is taken up, and punished. In fact, the condition of the free man of colour is scarcely preferable to that of a slave: subjected to the same mode of trial, exposed to the same jealous surveillance, carefully excluded from all the rights and privileges of citizenship, and surrounded by every kind of snares, both legal and illegal, his freedom

seems but a mockery superadded to oppression. The statute declares that every man of colour shall be presumed a slave: every newspaper is a commentary on the injustice and barbarity of this enactment; every day men of colour are advertised as taken up on suspicion of being slaves: they are committed to jail, and if no owner appears, are sold to pay expenses. But the direct operation of the law is not all the free man of colour has to dread.

The humane exertions of some gentlemen of the Charleston bar have lately brought to light a singular system for kidnapping free negroes, and selling them as slaves into Kentucky, or any State at a distance from their connexions. The agents were a justice of the peace, a constable, and a slave dealer.

The process was as simple as unblushing villainy could devise. A victim having been selected, one of the firm applied to the justice upon a sham charge of assault, or similar offence, for a writ, which was immediately issued and served by the constable, and the negro conveyed to prison. Here, without friends or money, he is to await his trial for some unknown crime, charged against him by some unknown accuser: no wonder if in this desolate condition his spirits sink, and his fears anticipate the worst: the constable now appears, exaggerates the dangers of his situation; explains how small is his chance of being liberated, even if innocent, by reason of the amount of the jail fees and other legal expenses; but he knows a worthy man who is interested in his behalf, and will do what is necessary to procure his freedom, upon no harder condition than an engagement to serve him for a certain number of years. It may be supposed, the negro is persuaded; "influenced perhaps, (as the counsel for the defendants observed, on the trial,) by the charms of a country life." The worthy slave dealer now ap-

pears on the stage. The indenture of bondage is ratified in presence of the worthy magistrate and constable, who share the price of blood, and the victim is hurried on ship-board to be seen no more.

This traffick had been long carried on, when humanity discovered and exposed it in a court of justice; but since, by the present law, there is no such offence as man-stealing, it could be punished as false imprisonment only. Should not however the shame of discovery produce a stronger impression on the parties engaged in this iniquitous traffick, than can be expected from their depraved habits, it is more than probable, it will continue to be carried on with keener, and perhaps more atrocious dexterity than before.

He must be a very sanguine enthusiast in favour of human nature,* who believes that the negro, thus protected by the laws, will be very tenderly cherished by his master. The uncontrolled will of the most virtuous individual would be a fearful thing to live under, but the brutal passions of the sordid, the cruel, and the ignorant, scourges which might well "appal the guilty and confound the free," are the rule by which at least nine-tenths of the slave population are governed. If so governed, they are mildly and justly governed, we must admit the constant operation in their favour of a miracle strong enough to invert the whole moral order of nature. To render tigers granivorous would be comparatively easy.

It is not impossible, but that the house servants and personal domesticks of humane and enlightened masters, may be in a condition not in every respect much worse than that of persons filling the same station in European countries; but it is not from

* The Abolitionists are charged with an affectation of philanthropy, because they think black men have the same feelings with white; but it is the very sobriety of reason, to ascribe to planters the virtues of angels.

the good fortune of this minute portion, we can deduce a fair estimate of the condition of the many. It is in the plantation, and principally, perhaps, among the petty proprietors, the work of torture goes on. An occasional instance of atrocity sometimes meets the publick eye, and sheds a lurid light upon a region "where Hope never comes."

I shall advert to a few such particulars, in the mode of treating slaves, as being matters of publick notoriety, admit of no dispute, and therefore, afford true bases, upon which to discuss the question of their physical enjoyments.—First then for their lodging. If there be any sensation to which the negro is by constitution peculiarly alive, it is that of cold. I have mentioned the degree of cold in the Carolinas during my journey through them; this it must be owned, was greater than is usual, so far south as the Roanoke, but a much less degree is sufficient to chill frames unbraced by a climate hot and moist in summer to an excess. In Maryland and Virginia several months of the winter are as severe as in England.*

The hut which is to shelter the negro during this, to him, inclement season, is built of logs or unsquared trunks of pine trees, so carelessly put together, that as I travelled through the country by night, the fire-light shone through every part of them, as through wire lanterns: true it is, they may have

* "Cette côte (L'Atlantique) éprouve des attaques de gelées assez vives dans les quarante jours qui suivent le solstice d'hiver. A Norfolk, le 14 Février, 1793, il tomba dans une nuit quatre pieds de neige; et à Charleston même par les 32° de latitude, le mercure tombe jusqua' à quatre degrés sous zéro (selon Liancourt,) et la terre gèle ferme jusqua' à deux pouces d'épaisseur dans une seule nuit. Par inverse sur toute la côte, depuis le Patomac, les chaleurs, dès un mois avant le solstice d'été, sonts si fortes, que pendant quatre mois le mercure s'élève communement après midi, entre 22 et 24°." Volney, t. i. p. 141. Observing afterwards on the effect produced by these changes of temperature, he adds, "C'est encore par l'effet de cette habitude des organes, qu' à Charleston on se plaint du froid quand le thermomètre est à 10° ou 12° sur glace, et que l'on y brûle, selon la remarque de Liancourt, autant de bois qu'à Philadelphie ou le mercure tombe 15° plus bas." Id. p. 152.

wood for the fetching, but it is no trifling addition to their daily toil, that they must cut and bring it in, and have their night's rest perpetually broken, by the obligation of keeping up their fires.

To talk of furniture and conveniences in such cabins is superfluous; a few gourds and wooden utensils comprise their whole stock: as for bedding, a negro is supposed to require none.

While I was sitting in the publick room of the tavern at Charlotteville, the master of some negroes was making arrangements relative to their hire by another man for the season,* when one of them requested, in the name of the rest, that they might be allowed the usual blanket a-piece, which they had not received in their former service. This trifling incident informed me to what kind of accommodation an equitable master considers his slave entitled;—a wretched cabin and a single blanket. For their clothing, with the exceptions I have already mentioned, I observed it almost invariably to be ragged and miserable in the extreme.

The description of their food is well known; Rice and Indian meal, with a little dried fish; it is, in fact, the result of a calculation of the cheapest nutriment on which human life can be supported. I have heard, indeed, of the many luxuries the negro might enjoy were he not too indolent; of the poultry and vegetables he might raise round his hut; but his unconquerable idleness masters all other feelings. I have seldom heard an argument against the negroes that was not double-edged. If they are, indeed, so indolent by nature, that even a regard for their own comforts proves insufficient to rouse them to exertion, with what colour can it be asserted that they feel it no misfortune to be compelled to daily labour for

* When an owner has no work for his slaves he commonly lets them out for the year, or season, to any one in want of hands.

another? Is the sound of the whip so very exhilarating that it dispels at once indolence and suffering? But I admit the fact of their indolence. The human mind fits itself to its situation, and to the demands which are made upon its energies. Cut off hope for the future, and freedom for the present, superadd a due pressure of bodily suffering, and personal degradation, and you have a slave, who, of whatever zone, nation, or complexion, will be, what the poor African is, torpid, debased, and lowered beneath the standard of humanity.

To inquire if, so circumstanced, he is happy, would be a question idly ridiculous, except that the affirmative is not only gravely maintained, but constitutes an essential moral prop of the whole slave system. Neither they who affirm, nor they who deny, pretend to any talisman by which the feelings of the heart may be set in open day; but if general reasoning be resorted to, since pain and pleasure are found to be the necessary result of the operation of certain accidents on the human constitution, the aggregate of our sensations (that is, our happiness or misery) must be allowed to depend on the number and combination of these accidents. "If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die?"

Should there be any unknown principle in the negro's constitution, which enables him to convert natural effects into their contraries, and so despise contingencies, whether of good or evil, he may pride himself on having over-past the glory both of saints and stoicks; but the fact would no more justify his oppressors, than did the stubborn endurance of Epictetus, the barbarity of his master, who broke his leg. It would be too much, first to inflict a cruelty, and then to take credit for the patience with which it is supported; but the fact itself is, in this case, more than doubtful. That to a certain point the feelings of the slave grow callous under bondage, may be conceded: this is the mercy of Nature: but that

they are wholly extinguished by suffering, is contradicted by facts of too palpable evidence; one of which is, that it is no uncommon thing for negroes to commit suicide. This I heard from a gentleman of Charleston; and I have since met with the still more unexceptionable testimony of a friend to the Slave Trade.

Dr. Williamson, in his "Medical and Miscellaneous Observations, relative to the West India Islands," observes, "Negroes anticipate that they will, upon death removing them from that country, be restored to their native land, and enjoy their friends' society in a future state. The ill-disposed to their masters, will sometimes be guilty of suicide; or by a resolute determination resort to dirt-eating; and thence produce disease, and at length death." i. 93. This is the kind of man who, should he ever hear of the death of Cato, would call it the result of "an ill disposition towards his master, Cæsar."

I remember to have once heard a person assert, from his own experience, that a cargo of Africans expressed great pleasure on finding themselves made slaves, on their arrival in America. A further explanation, however, removed the seeming improbability of this anecdote. They imagined they had been purchased for the purpose of being eaten, and therefore rejoiced in their ignorance, when they discovered, they were only to be held in bondage.

The natural inferiority of the negro race has been frequently urged, as an excuse for enslaving them; as if, admitting the fact, superiority of intellect conferred a right of oppression. It is to be regretted, that Mr. Jefferson has, to a certain extent, lent the sanction of his name to this opinion, not indeed to justify practices which no man more sincerely abhors;* but as the result of deliberate inquiry. The

* "I tremble for my country," says he, "when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep for ever." Notes on Virginia, p. 241.

author of "Letters from Virginia," discusses his arguments on this subject, and I think proves them to be ill-grounded. If I am not mistaken in his character, the philosopher of Monticello will be himself among the first to rejoice in his own defeat.

I forbear entering upon a question already decided by the irrefragable evidence of facts.

A black empire has arisen amid European settlements. Do the publick proceedings, and details of its government bespeak any inferiority to those of white men? The state papers of Hayti are to be distinguished from those of European potentates, only by superiour energy, and more exalted sentiments; and while the manners and politics of Petion emulate those of his republican neighbours, the court of Christophe has at least as much gilding and foolery, as many lords and ladies of the bedchamber, lords in waiting, stars and ribbons, gilded coaches, and laced button-holes, as those of his brother potentates, all over the world.

I shall conclude, by an account of the trial and execution of a negro, which took place during my stay at Charleston.

A man died on board a merchant ship, apparently in consequence of poison mixed with the dinner served up to the ship's company. The cabin-boy and cook were suspected, because they were, from their occupations, the only persons on board who did not partake of the mess, the effects of which began to appear as soon as it was tasted. As the offence was committed on the high seas, the cook, though a negro, became entitled to the benefit of a jury, and, with the cabin-boy, was put on his trial. The boy, a fine looking lad, and wholly unabashed by his situation, was readily acquitted. The negro's turn was next. He was a man of low stature, ill-shapen, and with a countenance singularly disgusting. The proofs against him were, first, that he was cook; so who else could have poisoned the mess? It was indeed over-

looked, that two of the crew had absconded since the ship came into port. Secondly, he had been heard to utter expressions of ill-humour before he went on board: that part of the evidence was indeed supprest, which went to explain these expressions. The real proof however was written in his skin, and in the uncouth lines of his countenance. He was found guilty.

Mr. Crafts, junior, a gentleman of the Charleston bar, who from motives of humanity had undertaken his defence, did not think a man ought to die for his colour, albeit it was the custom of the country; and moved in consequence for a new trial, on the ground of partial and insufficient evidence; but the judge, who had urged his condemnation with a vindictive earnestness, intrenched himself in forms, and found the law gave him no power in favour of mercy. He then forwarded a representation of the case to the President, through one of the senators of the State; but the senator ridiculed the idea of interesting himself for the life of a negro, who was therefore left to his cell and the hangman. In this situation he did not however forsake himself; and it was now, when prejudice and persecution had spent their last arrow on him, that he seemed to put on his proper nature, to vindicate not only his innocence, but the moral equality of his race, and those mental energies which thewhite man's pride would deny to the shape of his head and the woolliness of his hair. Maintaining the most undeviating tranquillity, he conversed with ease and cheerfulness, whenever his benevolent counsel, who continued his kind attentions to the last, visited his cell. I was present on one of these occasions, and observed his tone and manner, neither sullen nor desperate, but quiet and resigned, suggesting whatever occurred to him on the circumstances of his own case, with as much calmness as if he had been uninterested in the event; yet as if he deemed it a duty to omit none of the means placed within his reach for

vindicating his innocence. He had constantly attended the exhortations of a Methodist preacher,* who for conscience-sake, visited "those who were in prison;" and having thus strengthened his spirit with religion, on the morning of his execution, breakfasted as usual, heartily; but before he was led out, he requested permission to address a few words of advice to the companions of his captivity. "I have observed much in them, he added, which requires to be amended, and the advice of a man in my situation may be respected." A circle was accordingly formed in his cell, in the midst of which he seated himself, and addressed them at some length, with a sober and collected earnestness of manner, on the profligacy which he had noted in their behaviour, while they had been fellow prisoners; recommending to them the rules of conduct prescribed by that religion, in which he now found his support and consolation.

Certainly, if we regard the quality and condition of the actors only, there is an infinite distance betwixt this scene and the parting of Socrates with his disciples; should we however put away from our thoughts, such differences as are merely accidental, and seize that point of coincidence which is most interesting and important; namely, the triumph of mental energy over the most clinging weaknesses of our nature; the negro will not appear wholly unworthy of a comparison with the sage of Athens. The latter occupied an exalted station in the publick eye; though persecuted even unto death and ignominy, by a band of triumphant despots, he was surrounded in his last moments by his faithful friends and disciples, to whose talents and affection he might safely trust

* The church builders of Charleston are too happy in a monopoly of salvation to afford a salaried clergyman to the jail, and the salaried clergymen of the city cannot afford to contaminate their piety, by entering, unpaid, the abode of crime and misfortune.

the vindication of his fame, and the unsullied whiteness of his memory: he knew that his hour of glory must come, and that it would not pass away. The negro had none of these aids; he was a man friendless and despised; the sympathies of society were locked up against him; he was to atone for an odious crime, by an ignominious death; the consciousness of his innocence was confined to his own bosom, there probably to sleep for ever: to the rest of mankind he was a wretched criminal; an object perhaps of contempt and detestation, even to the guilty companions of his prison-house; he had no philosophy with which to reason down those natural misgivings, which may be supposed to precede the violent dissolution of life and body: he could make no appeal to posterity to reverse an unjust judgment.—To have borne all this patiently, would have been much: he bore it heroically.

Having ended his discourse, he was conducted to the scaffold, where having calmly surveyed the crowds collected to witness his fate, he requested leave to address them. Having obtained permission, he stept firmly to the edge of the scaffold, and having commanded silence by his gestures, "you are come," said he, "to be spectators of my sufferings; you are mistaken, there is not a person in this crowd but suffers more than I do. I am cheerful and contented, for I am innocent." He then observed, that he truly forgave all those who had taken any part in his condemnation, and believed that they had acted conscientiously from the evidence before them; and disclaimed all idea of imputing guilt to any one. He then turned to his counsel, who with feelings, which honoured humanity, had attended him to the scaffold; "to you, Sir," said he, "I am indeed most grateful, had you been my son, you could not have acted by me more kindly;" and observing his tears, he continued; "this, Sir, distresses me beyond any thing I have felt yet. I entreat you will feel no distress on my

account, I am happy;" then praying Heaven to reward his benevolence, he took leave of him, and signified his readiness to die; but requested he might be excused from having his eyes and hands bandaged; wishing, with an excusable pride, to give this final proof of his unshaken firmness; he, however, submitted on this point, to the representations of the sheriff, and died without the quivering of a muscle.

The spectators, who had been drawn together, partly by idle curiosity, and partly by a detestation of his supposed crime, retired with tears for his fate, and execrations on his murderers.

No. II.

OF THE AMERICAN CHARACTER.

I ventured at an early period of my travels to delineate some features of the American character. Whatever I have seen since has tended to confirm the impression then made, and this agreement of early impressions with subsequent experience may be admitted to prove, that the national character is strongly pronounced and therefore readily appreciated.

Notwithstanding the important differences of climate, habits of life and religion, there exists throughout the Union a feature of similitude countervailing all these. This feature is government. Political institutions have in other countries a feeble and secondary influence: the duties of a subject are, for the most part, passive; those of the American citizen are active, and perpetually acting; and as they operate equally on every member of society, their general control over the whole community must, in most instances, exceed that of any partial habit or opinion.

The common qualities which may be said to be generated by this influence, are intelligence, or a quick per-

ception of utility, both general and individual; hence their attachment to freedom, and to every species of improvement both publick and private: energy, and perseverance in carrying their plans into effect; qualities in fact deducible from the former; we are steady in pursuing, when thoroughly convinced of the value of the object: gravity of manner and deportment, because they are habitually occupied upon matters of deep interest: taciturnity, which is the offspring of thought. They appear deficient in imagination or the poetry of life, because all its realities are at their disposal. They seem to have little sympathy, because their social system does not compel them to suffer. Oppression engenders pity; disease and death require only resignation.

But beside these general features, which may be considered as common to the whole mass of American citizens, each grand division of the Union has its own peculiar characteristicks. By grand divisions, I mean, 1. The New England States; 2. The Central; 3. The Southern; and 4. The States to the west of the Alleghanies.

THE NEW ENGLAND STATES.

The author of "Letters from Virginia," thus pourtrays the New Englanders, or Yankees.

"My young friend Manly came in to see me last evening. 'You are a traveller,' said he, 'and make it a point to see every thing. Pray have you seen a *Yankee* yet about our wharves?' 'A *Yankee*,' said I, 'what sort of an animal is that?' 'A very strange animal, I assure you,' said he, with a smile. 'It has the *body* of a man, but not the *soul*. However, I mean one of our New England friends, who visit us in small crafts, to get our money. These are certainly a very strange race of people. You will see them with their eel-skins upon their hair, to save the expense of barbers, and their ear-rings in their ears, to improve their sight, to see how to cheat you better, I suppose. They would die sooner than part with one of these ornaments, unless you pay 'em well for it. At the same time they live upon nothing. A

rasher of pork is a feast for them, even on holidays. Their favourite drink is nothing but switchel, or molasses and water, which they will tell you is better than burgundy or champaign. They are however better taught than fed, and make the finest bold sailors in the world. They can sail to the North Pole and back again in an egg-shell, if the ice does not break it. Indeed, they are seamen by birth, and box the compass in their cradles. You know our genteel laziness unfits us for the drudgery of commerce. So we leave it all to the Yankees. These crafting part of them come here at all seasons in their sloops and schooners, bringing a miscellaneous cargo, of all sorts of *notions*, not metaphysical but material, such as cheese, butter, potatoes, cranberries, onions, beets, *coffins*—you smile, but it is a fact, that understanding some years ago, that the yellow fever was raging here with great violence, some of them very charitably risked their own lives, to bring us a large quantity of ready-made coffins of all sizes, in nests, one within another, to supply customers at a moment's warning; an insult which we have hardly forgiven them yet. You will see them sailing up into all our bays, rivers, and creeks, wherever the water runs. As the winter comes on, they creep into some little harbour, where they anchor their vessels, and open store on board, retailing out their articles of every kind, to the poor countrymen, who come to buy. Towards the spring, they sail away with a load of plank or shingles, which they often get *very cheap*. Indeed the whole race of Yankee seamen are certainly the most enterprising people in the world. They are in all quarters of the globe where a penny is to be made. In short, they love money a little better than their own lives. What is worst, they are not always very nice about the means of making it; but are ready to break laws like cobwebs, whenever it suits their interest. You know we passed an embargo law sometime ago, to starve the English out of house and home, and made all our coasting captains give bond, and take oath, that they would not sail to any foreign port or place whatever. Suddenly there began to blow a set of the most violent gales that had ever been known, and what was rather singular, they all insisted upon blowing towards the West Indies, in the very teeth of the law, as if on purpose to save the penalty of the bonds. It looked indeed, to

good people, as if Providence had determined to take those islands under his care, and send them supplies to save them from famine, in spite of the American Congress. Our rulers, however, who had learnt from history that these Yankees used formerly to deal with witches, began to suspect that all these storms were raised by the black art, or at least were manufactured in a notary's office, expressly for the occasion, and therefore resolved to lay them at once. So they passed a law which declared in substance that no kind of accident or distress should be given in evidence, to save the penalties of the bonds. This act poured sweet oil upon the ocean at once, and produced a profound calm, in spite of witches and notaries, and the winds soon went on to blow from all points of the compass as formerly, any thing in the act entitled, *an Act laying an embargo*, &c. to the contrary notwithstanding.'" Letter VI.

This is confessedly a caricature, but its distorted lineaments may help us to some of the true features of the New Englanders. They are the Scotchmen of the United States. Inhabiting a country of limited extent, and incapable of maintaining its own population, their industry naturally and successfully directed itself to commercial pursuits; but as even these became gradually insufficient to maintain their growing numbers, they began at an early period of their history to seek for settlements among their neighbours to the south and west. As it is probable that those who first began to have recourse to that expedient, were such as preferred the exertion of their wits, to an encrease of manual toil, reckless adventurers who were well-spared at home, they were far from being acceptable guests. The plodding Dutch and Germans of New York and Pennsylvania, held them in particular abhorrence, and, as far as they could, hunted them from their neighbourhood, whenever they attempted to gain a footing in it. "It is (says the author of the "Olive Branch,"*) within the memory of those over whose chins no razor has ever mowed a harvest, that Yankee and sharper were

* A political publication, by Matthew Carey, of Philadelphia, supposed to have had a greater *run* than any work of the sort, since Paine's Common Sense; seven editions having been called for in thirteen months.

regarded as nearly synonymous, and this was not among the low, and the illiberal, the base, and the vulgar. It pervaded all ranks of society. In the Middle and Southern states, traders were universally very much on their guard against Yankee tricks, when dealing with those of the Eastern." Page 274.

It is therefore in this class of adventurers and emigrants we are to look for the least favourable traits of the New England character: patient, industrious, frugal, enterprising, and intelligent, it cannot be denied but that they are frequently knavish, mean, and avaricious; as men who make gain the master spring of their actions.

Here we perceive the force and meaning of the Virginian satire, but here too its application must be restricted: even emigration seems to be so far moulded into a system, that it is no longer, the resort merely of rogues and vagabonds, but is embraced as an eligible mode of bettering their condition by the young and enterprising of all classes; it is a wholesome drain to the exuberance of population, and preserves at home that comparative equality, on which publick happiness and morals so entirely depend. The New Englanders should be seen at home to be correctly judged of: as far as testimony goes, it is universally in their favour. "I feel a pride and pleasure (says Mr. Carey) in doing justice to the yeomanry of the Eastern States: they will not suffer in a comparison with the same class of men in any part of the world. They are upright, sober, orderly, and regular; shrewd, intelligent, and well-informed; and I believe there is not a greater degree of genuine native urbanity among the yeomanry of any country under the canopy of heaven." "Olive Branch." Page 275. This is the character my own experience recognized in the inhabitants of the beautiful Genesee country, which has been entirely cleared and settled by New Englanders.

It is impossible to quit the Eastern States without speaking of their religion, which is scarcely more their glory in their own eyes, than their opprobrium in those of their neighbours.

Pretensions to superiour sanctity are always received with jealousy, especially by a people, among whom devotion is in repute. The contrast too, betwixt the pious seeming, and substantial knavery of many of the New En-

gland adventurers, naturally brings these pretensions into still greater discredit, and extorts a wish, that they had either a little more morality, or a little less religion. There is, however, no reason to doubt that in the bulk of the inhabitants, religion is not merely a shew and pretext, but a belief and practice: men tire of mutual hypocrisy, when it has grown too common to impose.

Calvinism, rigid, uncompromising Calvinism, is the inheritance the New Englanders have received from their forefathers; it was the sacred fire their ancestors bore with them into exile, and which has continued to burn in the hearts, and on the altars of their descendants; sometimes indeed like "the furnace blue," to which Moloch treated his worshippers, but of late years with a less fatal, though still angry, light, round which the trumpets and timbrels of the priests still sound "in dreadful harmony."

Besides the indulgence of spiritual pride, (for spiritual pride is a luxury of the highest rate to those who are too frugal, or too conscientious to tolerate grosser enjoyments,) the early colonists perceived the Calvinistick system of church discipline to be best suited to the poverty and simplicity of their condition. Calvinism has therefore grown up with republicanism, and from an accidental connexion, claims to be of the same kindred: but the vital spirit of Calvinism is intolerance, and intolerance is in no shape a republican principle. It is true, this spirit is, to a certain extent, mitigated by the partial influence of good sense, and by the temper of the age, but it is still the same in essence, and waits but a favourable opportunity to prove itself the same in action. I do not, however, ascribe intolerance to Calvinism as a peculiarity; it is a quality common to religious sects of every denomination, whenever faith girds on the sword of temporal power. The disposition of any sect to persecute others seem in exact proportion to its strength and credulity; increasing as these increase and unite, and growing mild as they fade and separate. Thus all religions have in their turns been persecuting and tolerant, bloody and inoffensive. The Roman Catholick religion, harmless in Canada, and in the United States, opprest in Ireland, bed-ridden in France, still exhibits the vitality of its poison in Spain and Portugal. The Anglican church, persecuting even in its cradle, persecuting at its first establishment in Vir-

ginia, and still armed with exclusive privileges and penal statutes, has grown gradually tolerant from a decay of faith and a division of power. If Calvinism still retains in America the harsher features of its founder and early disciples, it is because the New Englanders have as yet found little leisure to unsettle their belief; while believers, by elevating their mortal passions and human weaknesses to the throne of God, have made a cherished idol of their own pride, and authorize intolerance by Divine example.

It is to be regretted, that this fanatical spirit is not confined to the Eastern States: either, for, that it is in itself naturally contagious, or that it has been carried abroad by emigration, it is now spreading rapidly through all parts of the Union; sometimes, indeed, in a manner, which may well provoke a smile;* but more frequently with a

* I once picked up a work entitled "The Christian's Journal," written by a minister of Haddington, the aim of which was to extract some religious feeling from every object which might meet a Christian eye, as for instance, "Now the butcher shaves the neck of yonder sow, that he may give her the killing stab, so Satan tickles and flatters my soul that he may murder her.—Yonder feed a flock of geese; a covey of ducks; let me never resemble the first in being heady and high-minded; nor the last in speaking much, and doing little, in walking slow, &c.—Yonder are two kilns, one for drying corn or malt, another for burning bricks; think, my soul, how Jehovah's son was dried, roasted, and burnt amidst his Father's indignation."—The following must, I imagine, be spoken in a female character; "How filthy is this stable; but stop my soul, with wonder stop! Was Jehovah born in a stable for me? Did he lie in a manger, that he might lie for ever betwixt my breasts, and I for ever in the embraces of his love?"—"There stands the ranked cabbage; chiefly valuable for its large solid heart; as my heart is before God, so much am I, no more.—Here come persons in coaches, and others on horses; for thou, my soul, ride in the chariot of the wood of Lebanon, and on the white horse of the Gospel.—Yonder is a crowd of people, who attend the neighbouring spa to drink or bathe in it. Blessed Jesus, mineral well, great spa, let us daily bathe in thy blood.—Here they make glass: its original is stones, sand, kelp, and such briny materials; by what grinding, melting, and polishing they transform it into the transparent substance! Think, my soul, on the tremendous grinding and melting of the Son of God, in the likeness of sinful flesh, to prepare the glazen sea of his righteous-

rigidity of aspect, before which the graces and pleasures of life wither. The Americans are habitually serious and silent, even beyond English taciturnity.* Their spirits are seldom elevated, except by the application of some extraordinary stimulant, either in the shape of politicks or liquor; they are thus excellently fitted to become vessels of election and regeneration: the sour leaven ferments through their frames, until all the kindlier juices curdle, and happiness becomes a deadly sin.

In many parts of the country dancing is held to be an abomination, which even the young of both sexes have been induced by the penalty of eternal damnation to renounce: perhaps this is no great sacrifice, for I have sometimes fancied, that though the Americans are great dancers by habit, dancing is with them an acquired taste, which will not long stand its ground against pleasures more congenial to their natural disposition; still it is a matter of regret, in as much as the severity of their character evidently requires rather to be tempered by social enjoyments than stiffened by gloomy creeds, and the cant of fanaticism.

Having testified in favour of the morality of the New Englanders, it is natural to inquire how far it may be supposed to originate in, or be strengthened by their religious tenets. This, however, is a question of not very easy solution. When a people is well educated and in-

ness and a bottle for God to put my tears in." This is certainly ingenious; "Here is plenty of cloth well dyed, and I hope well made; here is fine linen, strong and thoroughly whitened: sad memorials of our sin; had not Adam made us naked to our sin, we should have no need of this to cover us."

The following is an epitome of the precious doctrine of election and sanctification by grace; "Here lieth one who reckons himself the chief of sinners, and yet boldly claims Jesus for his own; and firmly expects salvation by virtue of the covenant of grace made with Him; may my life, and my last end, be like his."

* I have been frequently amused during my journey, with observing twelve or fourteen persons meeting to take their meals, as they do at the country taverns, and separating without uttering as many words as there were dishes on the table; yet they were not in general strangers, but fellow-townsmen, boarding at the house.

dustrious, when property is so far equally divided, that the extremes of wealth and poverty are scarcely known, their morals will necessarily be pure. The two main sources of vice are want and ignorance: let a man know well his own interest, and remove from him the blandishments of luxury on the one hand, and the horrours of poverty on the other, and he will have little temptation to work his own ruin by idleness, profligacy, or despair. Such is the condition of the New England States, and under such circumstances, it is probable they would continue in the paths of morality, because they are in fact in the straight road, whatever might be the form of their religious worship. Calvinism however, takes credit, as might be expected, for their good conduct, and claims the merit of having given birth to virtues, which probably it has only not been able to destroy. Time will bring about a decay of faith, and time will also introduce luxury and want. Religion and morality will then decay together, and collateral events will be mistaken for cause and effect.

If the influence of religion can in any way be fairly appreciated, it must be by observing the character and conduct of the priesthood, in whom, as a body, its essence must be peculiarly concentrated.

At the period of the French revolution, and for some years after, the New England clergy, were, to use the words of Fisher Ames, "powerful auxiliaries of lawful authority." "Watch those ungrateful souls," preaches Dr. Parish in 1798, "who murmur about taxation, and oppression, the burdens of government and religion. They have fellowship with our enemies; they are traitors to God and Christianity." "As citizens" (preaches the Rev. Jedidiah Morse, at the same period) "we ought with one heart to cleave to, and support our own government; we ought to repel with indignation every suggestion, and slanderous insinuation, calculated to weaken a just confidence in the rectitude of the intentions of our constituted authorities. Our government, is itself the most perfect, the best administered, the least burdensome, and most happyfying to the people, of any on earth."

A convention of congregational ministers presented an address to President Adams, in 1798, in which we read;

"The intimate connexion between our civil and Christian blessings, is alone sufficient to justify the decided part which the clergy of America have uniformly taken in supporting the constituted authorities, and political interests of their country."

Thus far all is consistent, and as it should be; "Now mark what follows." During the late war, we find these same individuals, whom the Federalists had represented, and who had represented themselves to be the steadfast supporters of authority and order, not only joining heart and voice to the party in opposition to the government, but actually beating "the drum Ecclesiastick," to excite open rebellion. "If you do not wish to become the slaves of those who own slaves, and who are themselves the slaves of French slaves, you must, in the language of the day, cut the connexion," &c. Sermon by the Rev. F. Gardiner, Boston, preached July 23, 1812.

According to the Rev. Dr. Osgood, whoever assisted the government, in any way, to carry on the war, was, "In the sight of God, and his law, a murderer." Sermon, June 27, 1812.

"Were not the authors of this war in character nearly akin to the deists and atheists of France; were they not men of hardened hearts, seared consciences, reprobate minds, and desperate wickedness, it seems utterly inconceivable that they should have made the declaration." *Idem.*

"If at the present moment no symptoms of civil war appear, they certainly will soon; unless the courage of the war-party should fail them." *Idem.*

The Reverend Elijah Parish thus exhorts his congregation. "New England, if invaded, would be obliged to defend herself; do you not then owe it to your children, owe it to your God, to make peace for yourselves?" Sermon, April 7th, 1814.

"The full vials of despotism are poured on your heads, and yet you may challenge the plodding Israelite, the stupid African, the feeble Chinese, the drowsy Turk, or the frozen exile of Siberia, to equal you in tame submission to the powers that be." *Idem.*

"How will the supporters of this antichristian warfare endure their sentence; endure the fire that for ever burns; the worm which never dies; the hosannas of

Heaven, while the smoke of their torment ascends for ever and ever." *Idem.*

How is this strange contrariety of sentiments to be accounted for? By a love of peace, and a devout hatred to war in the abstract? Alas! their own sermons scarcely militate more against this supposition, than did the bloody cuirass of the bishop of Beauvais. "Cursed be he" (preached Dr. Parish, in 1799) "that keepeth back his sword from blood. Let him that hath none, sell his coat and buy one. The contest is desirable." Shall it be said they yielded in the latter instance to the love of freedom and of their country? That they supported the constitution against tyranny? But of what tyranny could they complain? The war might be impolitick, it might be hostile to the interests of New England; and if such was the case, they had, as citizens, an undoubted right to use all constitutional methods of abridging its duration, and exposing its folly; but it had been constitutionally declared, and approved by a congress freely elected; and though the New England States might stand in the shoes of a minority, this is scarcely sufficient reason for the ministers of religion to preach sedition and rebellion. We are compelled therefore to search for the true motives of their conduct, among those passions which do least honour to human nature. Within the period of this change in their sentiments, the reins of government had passed from the hands of the Federalists into those of the Democrats, in whom they beheld the enemies of religion, because they were friends of toleration. Upon similar grounds, they hated France, whether republican or imperial, and adhered to England, because she shared and gratified their hatred. They loved neither England nor federalism, but their own power; which they believed to be connected with the cause of legitimacy and intolerance all over the world.* Power is universally the idol of the human

* The Reverend J. Morse observes, in his account of Connecticut. "The clergy, who are numerous and as a body very respectable, have hitherto preserved a kind of aristocratical balance, in the very democratical government of the state, which has happily operated as a check upon the overbearing spirit of republicanism." He adds, "Their influence is on the increase." And to this he attributes the reformation of manners.

heart; and whenever superstition builds temples, the idol obtains a favoured niche in the sanctuary. As long however as the temporal sword is withheld, and the hierarchy unendowed with the plunder of credulity, there will be found in a free country, a continual elasticity, recoiling against, and throwing off spiritual oppression. It is for this reason Unitarianism is making nearly the same progress among the few who think for themselves, even in New England, that fanaticism is among the many who take their creed upon trust. "It would astonish, and frighten many of the pious people in New York and Philadelphia" (I quote from the Olive Branch, page 275) "to be informed; but they may nevertheless rely upon the information as indubitably true, that a large portion of the clergy in the town of Boston are absolute Unitarians, and scout the idea of the divinity of Jesus Christ, as completely and explicitly as ever Dr. Priestley did; and let me add, that the present Principal of Harvard College, was known to be an Unitarian when he was elected. This fact establishes the very great extent and prevalence of the doctrine."

THE CENTRAL STATES.

There is no portion of the Union which contains more enlightened individuals, more useful institutions, or a stronger spirit of literary and scientifick improvement, than the cities of New York, and Philadelphia; but there are several reasons which prevent the citizens of the Central States from acquiring a general character, as strongly marked as is that of the Eastern. They are composed of several heterogeneous bodies. The ancient Dutch race still exists, with many of its primitive habits, towards the centre of the state of New York; towards the north and west, its population consists chiefly of New Englanders. A large portion of Pennsylvania is inhabited by Germans, who are still unacquainted with the English language, and are consequently rather a social circle existing within the State, than a portion of the community amalgamating with it. The Quakers too, are a body whose distinctive habits necessarily operate against the

formation of a general character, because they are stronger than any general causes by which such a character is engendered. These circumstances are hardly, however, felt as disadvantages; in some respects, they are probably the contrary.

As citizens, the Dutch and Germans are peaceable and industrious, though not very enlightened; the New Englanders introduce the best qualities of their characters: the Quakers are intelligent and humane. Adventurers from all countries constitute the most unsound part of the population, and are likely to give a stranger an unfavourable opinion of the whole; in other respects, the Central States seem those in which foreigners will find the tone of manners, and spirit of society most accommodating and easy.

THE SOUTHERN STATES.

It is impossible to consider the character of the southern states, without again adverting to the pernicious effects of slavery.

Land cultivated by slaves requires a considerable capital, and will therefore be divided among a small number of proprietors. Experience too, shews, that the quantity of labour performed by slaves, is much below that of an equal number of free cultivators; the number of persons deriving support from the soil will consequently be less: but the loss is not in quantity only, the quality is proportionably deteriorated. He who commands the sweat of others, will be little inclined to toil himself;* the inclination will diminish with the necessity. The fact is so consonant with this remark, that in the southern states, the fisheries, and all branches of active exertion, fall into the hands of the New Englanders: so much so, that the city of Charleston is supplied with fish by smacks from Marblehead and Boston. Climate might be supposed to have a partial influence in producing this effect, were not such individuals as are compelled by the nature of their occupations to rely much on their own efforts, found no-

* "Of the proprietors of slaves, a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labour." *Jefferson's Notes*, p. 241.

wise inferiour in attainments and application to the same description of persons in the more temperate portions of the Union. Nay, have not almost all the sultriest regions of the globe been alternately the seats of sloth and enterprize ?

The same distribution of property which renders labour unnecessary to its proprietor, is no less fatal to his mental improvement. Experience informs us, that means and leisure are less powerful excitements to study than the spur of necessity, and hope of profit. Information will be first sought, that it may be useful, it will afterwards be perused for the pleasure of the acquisition only. The planter has therefore been ever reckoned among the least enlightened members of society; but says a proverb, Those whom the devil finds idle, he sets about his own work. Dissipation must be always the resource of the unoccupied and ill-instructed.

If the political effects of slavery are pernicious to the citizen, its moral effects are still more fatal to the man. "There must doubtless," (says Mr. Jefferson,) "be an unhappy influence on the manners of the people, produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave, is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions; the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it, for man is an imitative animal. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, give loose to the worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his morals and manners undepraved by such circumstances." Notes p. 241.

We know the time of prodigies is past, and that natural effects will follow their causes. The manners of the lower classes in the Southern states are brutal and depraved.* Those of the upper, corrupted by power, are

* The stage drivers, for instance, are more inhuman, and much inferiour in decency of behaviour to the negroes, who are sometimes employed in the same capacity: so that it

frequently arrogant and assuming: unused to restraint or contradiction of any kind, they are necessarily quarrelsome; and in their quarrels, the native ferocity of their hearts breaks out. Duelling is not only in general vogue and fashion, but is practised with circumstances of peculiar vindictiveness. It is usual when two persons have agreed to fight, for each to go out regularly and practise at a mark, in the presence of their friends, during the interval which precedes their meeting; one of the parties therefore commonly falls.

Did the whole of the above causes operate with undiminished influence, the result would be horrible; but there are several circumstances continually working in mitigation of those evils.

The American form of government, as powerfully impels to energy, as slave proprietorship does to indolence. The example of neighbouring states continually urges on improvements. The learned and mercantile professions have little direct interest in the slave system, and are therefore less infected by its contagion. I have already noted a distinction betwixt the farmers of the upper country, and the planters of the lower. There is thus a considerable portion of comparatively untainted population. Even among the planters, there are individuals, who, by a judicious use of the advantages of leisure and fortune, by travel, and extensive intercourse with the world, have acquired manners more polished, and sentiments more refined, than are the common lot of their fellow-citizens in other portions of the Union: but these are rare exceptions, stars in darkness, which shine, more sensibly to mark the deep shadows of the opposite extreme, where the contrast is strong, perpetual, and disgusting.

THE WESTERN STATES.

The inhabitants of Kentucky are, or at least were (for in America the wheel of society turns so swiftly, that

seems not improbable that the effects of slavery, upon the lower orders at least, are more debasing to the governing class, than to the governed.

20 years work the changes of a century) considered as the Irishmen of the United States: that is to say, a similar state of society had produced, in a certain degree, similar manners.

The Kentuckians inhabited a fertile country, with few large towns or manufactories; they had therefore both leisure and abundance, as far as the necessaries of life went: they were consequently disposed to conviviality and social intercourse; and as the arts were little understood, and the refinements of literature and science unknown, their board was seldom spread by the graces, or their festivity restricted within the boundaries of temperance. They were in fact hospitable and open-hearted, but boisterous, and addicted to those vulgar, and even brutal amusements, which were once common in Virginia, and have been common in all countries, as long as man knew no pleasure more refined, than the alternate excitements and dissipation of his animal spirits, by feats of physical strength and coarse debauchery.

To a certain extent therefore, there were points of similitude betwixt the Kentucky farmers and the Irish gentry, but there was always this point of distinction; in Kentucky, leisure and abundance belonged to every man who would work for them; in Ireland, they appertained only to the few for whom the many worked.

Kentucky has of late years become a manufacturing state: towns have grown up rapidly, and the luxuries of social intercourse are scarcely less understood in Lexington than in New York: manners must therefore have undergone a considerable change, and those peculiarities of character, which were once supposed to mark Kentuckians, must probably now be sought among the more recent inhabitants of Tennessee or Indiana. It may safely be affirmed, that between the Alleghanies and the Missouri, every degree of civilization is to be met with which shades the character of social man, from a state of considerable luxury and refinement, until on the very verge of the pale, he almost ceases to be gregarious, and attaches himself to a life of savage independence. There are settlers, if they may be so called, who are continually pushing forward, abandoning their recent improvements as fast as neighbourhood overtakes them, and plunging deeper into primeval wildernesses. Mr. Boon,

is a person of this description; he explored Kentucky in 1760; since this period, he has constantly formed the advanced patrole of civilization, until he is now, I believe, on the Missouri. It is a maxim with him, that a country is too thickly peopled, as soon as he cannot fall a tree from the forest into his own inclosure.

It seems a very simple process to go and settle in a fertile country, where land may be procured for two dollars the acre; a glance, however, over an uncleared, and heavily-timbered tract, is sufficient, not only to correct our notions of the facility of the enterprize, but to render it astonishing, that men are found sufficiently venturesome and enduring to undertake the task. The stoutest labourer might well shrink at the prospect, but hope and freedom brace both soul and sinews. The manner in which the young adventurer sets out upon his pilgrimage, has been already described in livelier colours than mine. There is something almost poetical in the confidence and hardihood of such undertakings, and I have heard a kind of ballad-song, which turns upon them, with some such burthen as this:

"'Tis you can reap and mow, love,
And I can spin, and sew,
And we'll settle on the banks of
The pleasant Ohio."

How these adventurers have thriven is well known; Kentucky, first settled in 1773, in 1792 had a population estimated at 100,000, and by the census of 1810, at 406,511. Morse reckons the whole population of the Western territory in 1790, at 6000. According to the census of 1810, Ohio alone contained 227,843. Tennessee 261,227; and the other territories about 118,000; making an increase of 100 fold in 20 years. This rate is prodigious, even when compared with the most thriving of the Atlantick States.

The population of New York, was in

1756	- -	97,000
1786	- -	239,000
1805	- -	586,000
1810	- -	960,000

Averaging an increase of about twenty-four fold in forty years. In most of the New England States, the increase

is extremely small: so that they seem to have nearly attained the amount of population their soil will support with ease and comfort. Connecticut contained in

1756	- -	130.611 inhabitants
1774	- -	198,000
1782	- -	203,000
1805	- -	252,000
1810	- -	262.000

It may be supposed that with such an extraordinary growth, the demand for labour through the Western States is very great: even in Upper Canada the want of mechanicks and artificers is severely felt. The cause is easily assigned. Whenever great facilities exist for becoming a land-owner, men will unwillingly submit to the drudgery of menial or mechanical occupations, or at least submit to them so long only, as will afford them the means of taking up what they will consider a preferable mode of life. Wages are therefore very high through the whole of the continent; in the new States from the natural scarcity of labour, in the old, from the competition of the new. I saw the following terms offered to journeymen tailors in a Knoxville newspaper: three dollars for making a coat; one for each job; their board and lodging found them, and certain employment for one year. Knoxville is the capital of East Tennessee.

The views and feelings of the Western States are naturally influenced by their local position. All their streams, the Ohio, the Wabash, the Miami, the Kanhawa, and the Monongahela, discharge themselves finally into the Mississippi; the Missouri coming from the opposite direction, finds the same vent. The inhabitants look therefore to the gulph of Mexico, as the natural outlet of their commerce; to them the Atlantick States are the back country. What changes this feeling may eventually work in the Union, it is now useless to inquire, but it seems evident, that at no distant date, the Western States will have far outgrown their neighbours in power and population.

Already, the anticipating glance of ambition surveys an ample field; the whole continent is parcelled out. Besides Indiana, the Mississippi, the Illinois, the Michigan, and the North-west territories, equal in extent to four Englands, the Missouri territory is thus described in the

American "Traveller's Directory:" "Boundaries—On the north, unsettled country; south, Louisiana, and Gulf of Mexico; east, Upper Canada, North-west territory, Illinois territory, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi territory, and Louisiana: west, the Pacifick Ocean, and south-west the Spanish internal provinces. Extent from north to south, about 1380 miles; from east to west, about 1680 miles. Area, about 1,580,000 square miles." The population is as yet something inadequate, being only 21,000.

It is curious to observe, for how much, or rather for how little, the rights of the real proprietors of the soil, the Indians, count in these convenient distributions. They are in fact considered as a race of wild animals, not less injurious to settlement and cultivation than wolves and bears; but too strong, or too cunning to be exterminated exactly in the same way. Their final extinction, however, is not less certain. Then will the Queen of the Pacifick ascend the throne of undisputed empire, "*et victrix dominabitur Orbi.*"

No. III.

OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

"The United States, despairing of producing good manners, or a regard for private duties, by infusing into government the strongest solicitations to disregard publick duties; endeavour to secure the morality of government, as the best security against the licentiousness of the people. They forbear to excite ambition and avarice by hereditary orders, or separate interests; and provide against both, by election, responsibility, and division of power. They exclude the vicious moral qualities, fear, and superstition, as elements of government; and select for its basis, the most perfect moral quality of human nature."—*An Inquiry into the Principles and Policy of the Government of the United States, by John Taylor, Virginia.**

* I am much indebted to this able expositor of Republican principles, for the information he has afforded me on the American Government; were his manner equal to his matter, his "Inquiry" could not but produce a sensible effect on the science of politicks; as it is, the strength and originality of his intellect amply reward the labour of a perusal.

INTRODUCTION.

The observations I am about to offer on the American Government refer less to its forms and details, which are sufficiently understood, than to its principles, and to the essential points of difference betwixt it and all existing governments. In considering these, I shall endeavour to follow the route traced by the Americans themselves, by beginning with general principles, and thence deducing the constituent elements of their polity; preserving throughout, the line of argument adopted by what is termed the Democratick party, in opposition to the Federalists, some of whom hold principles widely different.

SECTION I.

OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY.

Individual advantage is the object for which men unite in society, and sacrifice a portion of individual liberty. Government is compounded of the portions so sacrificed.

The purport of its creation is to guarantee the aggregate of these individual advantages which constitute the publick good. But although almost all governments confess this end of their being, yet having been founded, not upon a recognition of the principle, but upon the usurpation of some, and the weakness of others, the publick good has been almost invariably resolved into the good of one man, denominated a king or emperour, or of a few denominated nobles, and privileged classes. The Americans had the singular advantage of being called upon to build up a frame of government, "*ab initio*," so that no reason could exist for legitimating an abuse, merely because it was established. They were called upon too, at a period, when men's minds were thoroughly imbued both with a knowledge of the principle, and with a deep sense of the calamities which a neglect of it had inflicted on the world. They therefore considered it as the key-stone and cement of their social edifice.

The end and purpose of government having thus been agreed upon, the question naturally arose of how this end was to be obtained? Here a previous consideration became necessary; namely, upon what basis governments had been and should be erected.

All governments evidently depended upon power, and all pretended a right to the power they exercised. The origin however of this right was variously asserted, and derived from a variety of sources; sometimes it was heaven-born; sometimes an inheritance; now a prescription; now a contract betwixt the government and the people.

As the American constitution acknowledges none of these derivations, it is necessary to give each of them a brief consideration, both to mark this point of distinction, betwixt it and other governments, and also to be able more safely to determine, to which party most essentially belongs the invaluable attribute of political justice.

1st.—The plea of some men to a Divine right to govern others, has antiquity on its side: it seems to have been successfully resorted to by the governing classes in the kingdoms of early Greece. Almost all their heroes and chieftains claimed kindred with Jupiter, and were rectilinear descendants from Hercules and Theseus. Claims so exalted, were however, to be supported by a superiority of mental and bodily endowments, in some degree commensurate; so that the sturdy warriours, who led the van of the fight, and bore the tempest of battle on shields, which the less practised strength of their followers was inadequate to wield, might exclaim, probably with as much truth as vanity;

Παντες δε, θεους ὡς, εισοροωσι;
Και τεμενος νεμομεσθα μετα ——

Paganism was, however, too lax a system, and the tendency of the Greeks to freedom and knowledge too strong, for divine right long to maintain an ascendancy over them: it was buried with the Heraclidæ, and would probably have been forgotten with oracles and omens, had not the early Christian church borrowed a similar notion from the Jewish dispensations, and employed it as an instrument to perfect an alliance with civil government;

to aid the usurpations of which, the Clergy, in consideration of value received, lent that *Right Divine*, which in their own hand proved so efficacious an instrument of subjugation.

As long, however, as the Feudal system held its maturity of strength, the doctrine of Divine Right seems to have had but a vague and partial effect on the military Aristocracies which frequently usurped and concentrated the whole powers of government.*

It was not until these were broken up, that we find it assuming an important rank among political principles.

In England, it attained the zenith of its influence under the Stuarts; but exposed and confounded by philosophy, it grew out of vogue at the period of the Revolution; so that it seems to have been pretty generally laid by among the antiquated notions of past generations; with this exception, however, in its favour, that it should be again brought forward whenever a period of political delusion should favour its resurrection; for though it bears its native absurdity somewhat ostentatiously on its front, it is a natural favourite with politicians, both on account of the ingenious manner, in which it confounds the intelligible with the mysterious, the cause of bad men, with that of a benevolent Deity; and also from its inestimable quality, of rendering reason superfluous.

2. A right of inheritance in some men to govern others, may be thus expressed; "My father governed your father; therefore, I have a right to govern you."

A *formula* which carries little more authority with it, than if one should say, "My father murdered your father, therefore I have a right to murder you." The simple existence of the fact confers no right. Admit the right in the terms of the proposition, and it will stand thus; "My father had a right to govern your father, therefore I have a right to govern you:" that is, you inherit your father's rights to govern my father;—granted; but you cannot claim as an inheritance, that which

* The honest Bishop of Carlisle's speech against the deposition of Richard II. seems to be a fair statement of this doctrine, as maintained by churchmen; while the event shew how little it was able to influence the lay nobility.

your father did not possess, namely, a right to govern me, who was not then born.

This imperfect analogy, however, betwixt the inheritance of property, and that of power; a perpetual inaccuracy with regard to the meaning of such words as Crown, Government, and Kingdom, (an inaccuracy to be expected in times and persons little accustomed to consider the import of abstract terms) together with a natural propensity in the human mind to regard that which is, as that which should be, have patched up the idol of Legitimacy, or Hereditary Right; an absurdity of the same character with Divine Right, but more likely to keep its footing in an enlightened age, because it claims an alliance with that reason, which the former religiously discards.

3. Custom has been allowed in certain cases to confer right; is it therefore in itself right, or does it become so from certain associations?

It is clearly not right in itself, because customs may be absurd, inhuman, or impious.

That it sometimes becomes right, seems equally indisputable.

By what rule, therefore, must Custom be tried to discover in it the quality of right?—Why is any custom absurd, or inhuman? Because by militating against reason or humanity, it produces evil, instead of good.

Here then we perceive a standard, by which custom may be tried; that of Utility.

Prescriptive rights to power must be examied therefore by this rule; but if it be essential to their approval, that they should be so examined, their authority rests on another basis than that of prescription, namely, that of Utility.

Since therefore, Prescription requires the sanction of Utility to become right, by itself it conveys no right.

4. It was probably the evident inadequacy of these sanctions, which gave rise to the supposition of a Contract betwixt the government and the people, which was so far a tribute paid to the more enlightened notions of mankind on this subject. I proceed to consider the validity of such a contract.

A contract is an agreement betwixt two parties to do, or forbear certain things.

The validity of a contract depends. 1st, on the right of the parties to enter into it; and this depends on the right they have previously over the subject-matter of the contract; for if they have no such right, the contract has no more validity than an agreement betwixt two thieves, to divide the property of an honest man.

2d. On the ability of the parties to perform it. Without such ability, it is equivalent to an agreement to cut up the moon in quarters; it is an absurdity.*

How far does a Contract betwixt a government and a nation answer to these conditions?

If a right to power be derived from a Contract, it did not exist previous to that Contract: but the government *A*, consisting of one, or of fifty persons, contracts with the nation *B*, consisting of 5,000,000; therefore *A* has as much right to govern *B*, as *B* has to govern *A*; but by the hypothesis, *A* contracts to obtain this right, therefore *A* did not previously possess it, and was not in a condition to contract.

Again, the validity of a contract depends on the ability of the contracting parties to fulfil it: If, however, *A* and *B*, have not both a right to power, it must be lodged in *B*, since *A* is to derive it from *B*; then either *B* has both the right and the power, or *B* has the right and *A* the power. In the former case, *B* is dependant on *A*, and must necessarily want ability to fulfil the contract. In the latter case, the ability is wanting to *B*, so that a fair contract is impossible.†

Admit, however, that a contract could be framed, binding on the contracting, or supposed contracting parties themselves; by what rule could these pretend to bind

* If the parties are conscious of their inability, the contract is fraudulent, if unconscious, they are "*quoad hoc*," no better than idiots.

† However hypothetical this statement may appear, it is strictly conformable to experience.

History offers us no example of a contract, in the fair sense of the word, betwixt a government and a nation.

In civil contests, the prevailing party has imposed terms on the other, more or less severe, more or less advantageous, in proportion to the magnitude of the triumph, or the surviving means of resistance.

their posterity? Grant that my ancestors could, and did legally deliver themselves into bondage to yours, could they therefore deliver me to you; the unborn to the unborn? Whatever right they had to contract for themselves, the same must I have to contract for myself.

Should the apalogy of testamentary dispositions and entails be adduced to support the right of existing societies to bind their descendants, it may be answered, that post-obit dispositions of every kind are creations of society.

In a state of nature, the rights of each individual die with him; under the social system, they are prolonged, not surely for his own advantage (for it would be a little absurd to suppose all the present inhabitants of the earth, merely usufructuaries for the benefit of their deceased ancestors) but for the general good.

We are thus conducted to a right deduced, not from Contract, but Utility.

The Americans, rejecting therefore these fantastick bases of government, perceived there was one Right upon which no question could be raised, namely, the Right of each individual to bestow that which belonged to him.

Each individual, as has been observed, sacrifices, on entering into society, a certain portion of his freedom, that is, of his absolute and unlimited right over his own person and property. But these portions so sacrificed, are not lost, nor to be made an appanage for the strongest; but they constitute a general stock of national power to be used for the publick good.

The Right of distribution resides in the nation, because national power is a property incapable of being transferred to individuals; and this Right constitutes National Sovereignty, the only legitimate origin of government. "For the ancient species of compact," says Mr. Taylor, p. 425. "our policy has substituted a chain of subordination suspended from its principle of the right of self-government. Our political sovereignty is the first link, and our government the second."

SECTION II.

OF THE SYSTEM OF ORDERS.

The Americans having, by means of Conventions, given life to the principle of National Sovereignty, proceeded to consider what form of government would be most in unison with it.

They had the light of ages to guide them in their selection; and the result of it will instruct us to what purpose they employed the means within their grasp; how far they are to be considered as servile imitators of European institutions, and how far they have enlarged the limits of political science.

The three simple forms of government had been so generally felt, and pronounced to be evil, that there was never a question of them in America.

The compound form, however, or system of Orders, was so far from being included in this sentence, that it is generally regarded in other countries, and even by a small but respectable party in America, as the Archetype of their own government. Mr. Adams' "Defence," seems to have been written for the express purpose of proving that this either was, or ought to be, the case; and the Federalists are, for the most part, followers of the same doctrine.

The question therefore demands examination.

If both the fundamental principles, and experimental effects of this system are wholly different from those of the American policy, it would be absurd to insist upon their being copies one of the other.

The peculiar merit of the system of Orders, or Estates, is admitted to consist in the equilibrium maintained among them, each acting as a check upon the other.

The means by which this effect is produced, are also admitted to be jealousy, and a balance of power.

The result is asserted to be the greatest political happiness of which mankind are capable.

Political theories are objects of ridicule to practical politicians, yet Plato's republick would seem the vulgarest matter of fact, if compared with the system of Orders, as laid down in theory.

Three Estates or Orders, naturally hostile, and equal in power, are to be held, like the Ass in the Fable, or Mahomet's Coffin, in a state of perpetual neutrality, by the operation of the evil moral quality, jealousy!

I know of nothing with which to compare such an ingenious piece of moral mechanism, except the celebrated dagger scene in The Critick. Were experience however in its favour, its theoretical effigy would be unimportant; but the deep and sober warning of history flatly contradicts its pretensions.

History tells us, that the three ingredients of the compound Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy, alike noxious when single, have exhibited the same deleterious qualities under every form of combination; and that so far from having ever been held in equilibrium one by another, the moment of their approximation to a balance has ever been the signal for civil wars, terminating in a fusion of the whole compound into one mass of anarchy, or despotism.

Aristocracy and Democracy were the prevailing forms of Grecian polity. The repeated struggles of the two factions, throughout Greece generally, and in each particular city, denote at least an approximation to a balance, since neither party could completely prevail over the other; but did they therefore preserve tranquillity and freedom? Did they not, on the contrary, deliver the noblest race of men that ever existed, into the benumbing embrace of absolute power?

We have little certain knowledge of the early Monarchy of Rome. Its lineaments, however, exhibit some traces of a system of Orders, consisting of a King, Senate, and People.

It lasted until the king felt himself strong enough to oppress, and the people to resist; when each party had recourse to arms, and the contest was so far doubtful, that the existence of the republick was jeopardized.

The government afterwards fell into the hands of the Senate, with their relations and connexions, the Patricians, who probably at this period constituted an Aristocracy, according to the original sense of the word.

As the Plebeians grew sensible of their own weight, they put themselves into competition with the Patricians, for the purpose of opening their monopoly of dignities,

and breaking down their accumulation of property, by means of the Agrarian Law.

The fate of all those who attempted this measure, notwithstanding their talents and popularity, clearly proves, that the aristocratical party, notwithstanding its occasional concessions, still maintained an ascendancy, which could be levelled only by civil war.

Marius was the first Plebeian consul; thenceforth the contest seems equal, the result was slavery to all.

We read over again the history of Greece in that of the Italian republicks. The nobles and people were so far balanced, that neither could, entirely, put down the other. In their towns, the body of the citizens prevailed; the exiled or defeated nobles took refuge in their castles, among their vassals; devastated the country, united with foreign powers, and thus recovered their lost ground; but the restoration of the equilibrium never restored freedom. The result was the establishment of a tyrant, of one party or the other. His reign in some degree set up the system of Orders, which lasted until it approached an equilibrium, by the awakening of the people to a sense of their oppression and strength, when the edifice tumbled to ruin.

The institutions of modern European governments are all of Feudal origin, changed and modified by time and accident.

The Feudal system is itself a curious illustration of the effect of Orders in government. It prevailed generally through Europe from the dissolution of the Roman empire almost to our own times; it had therefore some principle of durability: but its dissolution has constantly taken place at the moment the equilibrium of Orders seemed established.

In its infancy, as in its old age, it consisted of three estates, a King, a Nobility, and the free Tenants.

During several centuries, the power of the Kings and People was dust in the balance, against that of the Nobility: alienation destroyed the power of the great vassals, while that of the Crown continued to increase, at the expense of those who had formerly overawed it, until in France under the Bourbons, in Spain under Charles V. and his successors, in England under the Tudors and Stuarts, it elevated itself above both the

Nobles and People, the latter of whom it employed as the instrument of its elevation, forcing the degraded nobility into the rank of courtiers and dependants.

During these changes, the condition of the people changed also; they rose rapidly into importance, so that by the time the Crown had completed its triumph over the Barons, they stood upon the ground of equality with it. But the wheel did not stop. The Orders thus equalized, did not remain suspended in an equilibrium of everlasting inactivity: in England, where the progress of events had been most rapid, a civil war ensued, and it would be difficult to discover any thing resembling a balance of Orders from this period to that of the Revolution.

In France the same effects were produced more slowly; there was no mention of a balance of orders under Louis XIV. or XV.; but an approximation towards it appeared under their unfortunate successor; we know the result was any thing but the so much celebrated repose of mutual jealousy.

There is another and more important period to be examined; that of the present generation. If we can now discover tranquillity and happiness resulting from a balance of Orders, the Americans may mistrust their constitution, and leave the Federalists to interpret it.

Power follows wealth; where one is, there will the other be also. The Feudal Aristocracy rested upon the solid foundation of property; with the church, it divided the wealth as well as the power of Europe. The power of the Crown, which succeeded it, did not rest precisely upon the same basis. Alienation and commerce, which had impoverished the Barons, had enriched the Commons in the same proportion, but the change had been gradual, and habits of submission continued to give the Crown advantages not naturally belonging to it; it is therefore simple enough that it should have acquired an immense accession of power in this interval of Baronial weakness, and popular ignorance; but to recover the same or even a still greater degree after the people had both felt and used their strength, was a process more complicated; its consideration involves the question of the balance, as at present existing.

When Buonaparte assumed a place among the legitimate sovereigns of Europe, he readily perceived, that notwithstanding his immense military force, there would be no stability in the imperial throne, unless he could succeed in raising such a countervailing power to that of the people, as existed under the ancient regime. The attempt was made under a partial and narrow view of circumstances: not even Buonaparte could create an aristocracy, which had been the work of events and times irrevocable. Had he succeeded, the history of France would have foretold to him, how little his family would have profited by it. He did not succeed, but created a Peerage of phantoms, which added neither support nor lustre to his throne; slaves in prosperity, summer flies in the winter of his downfall. He felt this errour, and on his return from Elba sought to build on a surer foundation; but the real state of the question was then revealed; it was this, that the true strength of a nation resides in the body of the People, and that governments which are not founded upon the principle of National Sovereignty, by which is implied a right in the nation to choose its own agents, must rely for their support upon force and fraud. The People are never willing and knowing victims.

Little need be said of France since the restoration of the Bourbons: it is evident that the ingredients are wanting for compounding a new system of Estates, it only therefore remains to be seen what fraud and force can effect, against the right of self-government. This seems acknowledged, that they who use them, have as yet little confidence in their weapons.

I proceed to consider the English system, regarded by Mr. Adams, as the most perfect exemplification of the system of Orders, with its anti-attrition wheels of mutual jealousy.

"The constitutional government of this island," says Blackstone, "is so admirably tempered and compounded, that nothing can endanger or hurt it, but destroying the equilibrium of power between one branch of the legislature and the rest," 1. p. 51. The three co-equals are necessarily equal to one another; therefore the House of Peers is equal in power to the Crown. Power follows wealth; he who commands the wealth of others,

commands the power attached to that wealth. The King of England, besides a personal revenue of 1,000,000*l.*, commands as much more as maintains an army of nearly 100,000 regular troops a considerable fleet, an immense body of civil agents, with abundance of pensioners and other persons, attached either by hope or fear to its interests. Let the popular strength be deducted from either side, and the two parties take the field with their own resources, would the contest be prolonged half an hour? Would there be a contest? Shall it be said the parties are equal, because the Crown dares not attempt the lives or property of the Peers; I ask, why dares it not? because the third party would necessarily take a part in the contest;—but this proves any thing but an equality betwixt the two.*

Is the House of Peers equal in power to the popular branch of the constitution? The power of a representative body is to be measured by that of the represented; a small portion only of the English people is represented; yet even this portion far exceeds, in the sum total of its property, that of the aristocratical branch, who bring with them the weight only of their individual estates. If in this condition it be no match for the Commons, much less would it be felt, if weighed against the whole strength of the People, according to the theory of the constitution, and according to the interpretation of it by its admirers in America.

In France, the Nobility, at the period of the revolution, far exceeded the English peerage in all the essential qualities of an aristocracy. It had more wealth, greater numbers, ampler privileges, and deeper prejudices in its favour; yet it was not more sensibly felt than the fly on the bull's horn against the power of the People.

It remains to consider the equilibrium of power betwixt the Crown and the People. Whatever the Crown

* As long as the nobility were really formidable to the crown, the latter watched over them, beheld them with jealousy, and sought every occasion to diminish their power. Does the crown any longer watch over, or seek to diminish their number and influence? Does it create a "batch of peers" for the sake of having so many additional enemies?

possesses, it derives from the People; there can therefore be no natural equilibrium betwixt them.

When Peter the Hermit began to preach the crusades, there was nothing like equality of power betwixt him and the smallest of his congregations. When he set out for Asia at the head of 4 or 500,000 fanaticks, there was no equilibrium betwixt them and him: as long as the delusion lasted they were as absolutely his instruments as his beads and staff. Whoever can substitute *his* interest in my mind, in the place of my own, is my master, more absolutely than if he held me in bondage.

It is this reflection which must guide as to an estimate of the comparative strength of the Crown and People in England. If the latter can be induced to believe their interest demands a standing army; and such a system of taxation as shall mortgage the whole property of the nation into the hands of a few individuals; it is quite clear the power will no longer be in their hands, but in those of the Crown which holds the sword, and in those of the mortgagees to whom their property is pledged.

The National Sovereignty is therefore in the hands of two parties. The Crown, and a new Order in the state, entitled the Monied Interest. The history of this order is contained in our annals from the time of Sir Robert Walpole, who first built it up against the landed or Tory interest.

It is natural to inquire, how an enlightened nation could be tempted into this act of political suicide. Many causes were combined to produce it; the landed interest fell into disrepute from its tory principles; national animosities were carefully fostered, to hurry the people into French wars and German alliances; debt was the natural consequence, and taxation the consequence of debt. Taxation is naturally unpopular; the dullest knave will feel through his pocket, and the feeling quickly becomes as general as the cause of it; it was here the principle of fraud began to exercise itself. It was not easy to persuade the payers of taxes that they did not feel them, but it was attempted and found possible to persuade them, that this uneasy sensation was like a rash or a boil, the surest symptom of vigorous health; and when this was done, it was comparatively easy to go a step

further, and assure them it was not only a symptom of good health, but actually the cause of it.

We catch a glimpse of the cords and pulleys, by which this machinery was played off, in the fifth chapter of Sterne's posthumous works. He was employed, he says, to write a pamphlet in defence of Sir Robert Walpole, and he thus describes the course he took. "I affirmed that the high price of provisions so loudly complained of, arose from the riches and affluence daily flowing into the kingdom, under the auspices of our minister. And that the accumulation of taxes, like the rising of rents, was the surest token of a nation's thriving; that the dearness of markets, with these new imposts of government, necessarily doubled industry; and that an increase of this *natural kind of manufacture*, was adding to the capital stock of the commonwealth. I lamented the fatal effects to be apprehended from all these heats, animosites, and revilings, which I said, *I had good reason* to affirm, were but a method of acting and instilling treason under cover; for that whenever the minister was abused, *the king was* attacked.

"This book of mine has been the codex, or *ars politica*, of all the ministerial sycophants, ever since that era; for I have scarcely met with a paragraph in any of the state-hireling writers for many years past, that I could not trace fairly back to my own code."

The separate interests created by debt and taxation, have both in zeal and number, been powerful auxiliaries of this system; a part they are the better able to play from their concentration, the sphere they occupy, and the aid of a venal press. All these advantages would probably however, have been found insufficient, had there existed any uncontaminated organ of publick opinion, or none so styling itself. In the first case, the good sense of the nation would have pierced the cloud of sophistry, and having discovered the light, would have had resolution to follow it. In the latter, the fountain of supply would either have been choaked by despotism and Turkish darkness, or (which is more probable) would have forcibly worked itself a new and purer channel.

The consummation of the pretended system of balances, is to transfer to the Crown and Monied Interest, so much of the People's property as will enrich the latter, and ena-

ble the former effectually to protect it in its spoliations. The following extract will show this to be the Democratick view of the system.

"The effect of opposite interests, one enriched by, and governing the other, correctly follows its cause. One interest is a tyrant, the other its slave. In Britain, one of these interests owes to the other above ten hundred millions of pounds sterling, which would require twelve millions of slaves to discharge, at eighty pounds sterling each. If the debtor interest amounts to ten millions of souls, and would be worth forty pounds sterling round, sold for slaves, it pays twelve and an half per centum on its capitation value, to the creditor interest, for the exclusive items of debt and bank-stock. This profit for their masters, made by those who are called freemen, greatly exceeds what is generally made by those who are called slaves. But as nothing is calculated except two items, by including the payments for useless offices, excessive salaries, and fat sinecures, it is evident that one interest makes out of the other, a far greater profit than if it had sold this other, and placed the money in the most productive state of usance.

"Whatever destroys an unity of interest between a government and a nation, infallibly produces oppression and hatred. Human conception is unable to invent a scheme, more capable of afflicting mankind with these evils, than that of paper and patronage. It divides a nation into two groups, creditors and debtors; the first supplying its want of physical strength, by alliances with fleets and armies, and practising the most unblushing corruption. A consciousness of inflicting or suffering injuries, fills each with malignity towards the other. This malignity first begets a multitude of penalties, punishments, and executions, and then vengeance. A legislature, in a nation where the system of paper and patronage prevails, will be governed by that interest, and legislate in its favour. It is impossible to do this without legislating to the injury of the other interest, that is, the great mass of the nation. Such a legislature will create unnecessary offices, that themselves or their relations may be endowed with them. They will lavish the revenue, to enrich themselves. They will borrow for the nation, that they may lend. They will offer lenders great profits,

that they may share in them. As grievances gradually excite national discontent, they will fix the yoke more securely, by making it gradually heavier. And they will finally avow and maintain their corruption, by establishing an irresistible standing army, not to defend the nation, but to defend a system for plundering the nation." Taylor, p. 38.

SECTION III.

OF THE AMERICAN SYSTEM.

NOTWITHSTANDING the evidence of history, that the system of Orders has grown out of feudalism, its theorists have maintained it to be the production of fate, or nature, and mankind have, through this belief, been hitherto "held enchanted (to use Mr. Taylor's expression) within the circle of the numerical analysis." Nature, according to this doctrine, engenders Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy, all founded on evil moral qualities; and man has nothing left to do, but to compound three evils, in the best way he can, and extract nutriment from poisons.

The American system supposes moral liberty, or a power of choosing betwixt good and evil: without this attribute, National Sovereignty would be only an ostentatious display of human weakness. A nation, willing its own interest, yet unable to pursue it, would exhibit the tormenting, yet ludicrous aspect of a political Tantalus.

Man being free to choose, cannot but choose: he has moral propensities, subject to universal moral laws. "The strongest moral propensity of man (says Mr. Taylor, p. 76.) is to do good to himself. This begets a propensity to do evil to others, for the sake of doing good to himself." This propensity, being governed by motives, is capable of increase or diminution. To whatever increases it, we give the name of a vicious excitement, and *vice versa*. Government, being composed of individuals, and by individuals, contains, and generates the same moral qualities, which will be good or evil, in proportion to the excitements it contains, to good or evil, propensities. Upon this view of the question, a new mode of analysis is ob-

tained, by means of which, governments are defined, not according to numerical classifications, but to their moral qualities.

The American system proposes to diminish evil in government, by weakening its generative principle; that is by affording the least possible excitement to evil moral qualities, both in the government and in the people.

"Governments, (says Mr. Taylor, p. 159.) whose elements are fraud or force, will naturally excite the evil moral qualities of human nature; and those whose element is reason, can only excite its good. And if every government must rely for continuance, either on force or fraud, or on reason, it follows that every government must be founded in good or evil moral principles."

He enumerates as evil moral principles of government, "Hereditary order, and exclusive privilege, legal religion, legal freedom of inquiry, accumulation of power, patronage or corruption, ignorance, virtual representation, judicial uncontrol, funding, and an oligarchy of banks. The good are, national sovereignty, equality of civil rights, freedom of religion, and of inquiry, division of power, knowledge, uncorrupted representation, and actual responsibility." Taylor, p. 406.

A bare enumeration of principles will not constitute a good government; it is necessary it should be moulded of, and in them. Let us examine how far this is the case with the government of the United States.

1st.—National Sovereignty has been determined to be the only legitimate origin of power: it is therefore, the only moral basis of government, and consequently, the only one capable of generating good moral qualities.

National Sovereignty is incapable of alienation, for its supremacy being absolute in every point of time, it cannot be divested of it, even by its own act; still less by any power derived from itself. Hence follows a striking difference betwixt the American system, and that of Estates, or Orders.

According to the latter, the Government is the nation, because the three Estates are the nation; it is therefore illimitable, for the same reason that National Sovereignty is illimitable. According to the former, Government is an agency, and therefore limited by the will and intention of the nation.

History tells us, that to insure national tranquillity, there must somewhere be lodged, in some portion of the body corporate, a preponderating power, against which opposition is useless: the contrary to which, is a tendency to equalization, or pretended balances, by which nations have ever been convulsed, and finally ruined.

Tranquillity and happiness are not synonymous. A man is tranquil, because he has no reason to be agitated, or he is tranquil, because agitation will procure him no relief. Turkey, Russia, France, Spain, England, and the United States, have been all tranquil for considerable periods, under very different forms of government; but these forms all agreed in the particular, of a preponderating power, though variously lodged.

In Turkey and Russia, it seems resident in the Throne, and a military Aristocracy; in France, (before the Revolution,) and in Spain, in the Throne more exclusively, being shared with less independent Aristocracies; under Bonaparte, it was in the Army, of which he was the chief; in England, it has fallen into the hands of the Crown and Monied Interest. In the United States, it is in the hands of the Nation.

We may observe that in all these cases, except the last, it is lodged in the hands of a minority, and consequently depends upon force and fraud. Legal religions and standing armies are therefore common to them all.

In the latter case this power rests upon a natural basis, and therefore, needs no artificial means of defence. Tranquillity is preserved, because there is no proportion betwixt the strength of the few interested in destroying, and of the many interested in maintaining it.

2d.—Equality of Civil Rights. All men existing in society make an equal sacrifice of their freedom, because all have equally an absolute right over their persons and property. The extent of the sacrifice being the measure of the right, and the absolute right over a shilling being equal to the absolute right over a pound, in as much as it would be an act no less immoral to deprive the possessor of the one than of the other, inequality of property does not superinduce inequality of rights: but rights being equal, no man can be born with a *right* to command another; therefore, hereditary order and inheri-

table privileges, are necessarily excluded from the American system.

Men have a right over that which is their own; either to give it or withhold it; and they have also a right to receive that, which others have a right to give. The former would be negatived, by a negation of the latter.

The portions of individual liberty constituting national power, are the property of all, as much as a joint banking or trading stock; with this limitation in both cases, that no individual can withdraw his portion, without separating from the social firm. What belongs to *all*, is to be appropriated by *all*; therefore each man has a right to a voice in the mode of appropriation; that is, to the Elective Franchise.

This right seems morally susceptible but of two limitations, crime and pauperism. Crime is a violation of the terms on which men unite in society, mutual advantage; it therefore dissolves social obligations.

In the case of pauperism, should the social compact be dissolved, the man who has neither property nor ability to gain his bread, would have no portion to reclaim; and, should it be re-constructed, he would have no portion to contribute; because his personal existence depends on others.

This principle, however readily deducible from National Sovereignty, encountered prejudices even in America.

A comparison, however, betwixt the constitutions of the old and New States, will show the progress it continues to make.

Virginia has the oldest constitution in the United States. "It was framed," says Mr. Jefferson, "when we were new, and unexperienced in the science of government. No wonder then, that time and trial have discovered very capital defects in it."

The elective franchise is here confined to persons having 100 acres of cultivated land, or property of equal value. The consequence is, that faction prevails, and the principle of a division of power is materially neglected.

As might be expected, "The great body of the people do not concern themselves with politicks; so that

their government, though nominally republican, is in fact oligarchical, or aristocratical." Morse, p. 387.

In Massachusetts and Connecticut, property to the value of 40*l.* or 50*l.* or a freehold of 2*l.* or 3*l.* yearly value, qualifies.

In Rhode Island and New Hampshire, no qualification is necessary, except the payment of taxes.

New York, and New Jersey, require a small qualification of property.

Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, the Carolinas, Georgia, Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, and Indiana, require no greater qualification than either a certain period of residence, the payment of a state tax, or such trifle of property as may bar the right of paupers.

It is to be observed that a right to vote for State representatives confers a right to vote for the members of the General government, therefore, in the same degree that equality of rights in this particular is preserved or violated in the State governments, it is also preserved or violated in the General government.

The Elective Franchise represents the right of each citizen to dispose of his own portion of the publick power. His right to become the depositary of the portions of others is represented by Eligibility.

This Right seems to have the same natural limits with the other: any other restriction operates as a double injustice; first on the giver, since a limitation of the right to receive, is equally a limitation on the right to bestow, and if carried to an extreme, destroys it altogether; as for instance, if none should be elligible but persons above seven feet high.

Secondly; on the receiver; for though no man has a right to power, and therefore cannot complain if others do not confer it on him; yet if the law declares him disqualified to receive, on account of some contingency over which he has no controll, he is in fact deprived of a portion of his natural right.

The General government requires as qualifications; age, residence and natural-born citizenship.

The first is rather a delay, than a destruction of the right. A Representative must be twenty-five, a Senator thirty, a President thirty-five years of age; and though doubtless prudence would commonly adhere to this rule,

there seems no adequate reason that the national will should be restricted in the exercise of a right, merely because it might possibly use it imprudently.

Every Senator, and Representative must be a resident in the state for which he is chosen. The same observation seems to apply to this, as to the former limitation. It is more probable a citizen of a different State should be a fit representative for any particular State, than that he should be chosen by it.

A representative must have been seven years a citizen, a Senator nine years, the President a natural-born citizen. Here too it would be more natural to suppose prudence in the *use*, than to limit the *extent* of the right. But though these restrictions may be marked as deviations from the positive rule of equality, there seems no reason to conclude, they are either oppressive, or injurious in practice. It is possible to suppose abundance of limitations, all of which would violate the principle, and yet not one of them operate as a hardship.

There are however two species of qualification, required by some of the State Governments, which seem not equally indifferent; these are, Property and Religion.

First of Property. Almost all the Old States, except Connecticut,* require a certain property to qualify for the offices of Governour, Senator, and Representative. The value of 1000*l.* in freehold estate is required by New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and North Carolina, in candidates for the first. Maryland requires 5000*l.* and South Carolina 10,000*l.* For the office of Senator an average of 400*l.* is requisite in most of the Old States: and of 150*l.* for a Representative.

All persons therefore not possessing property to this amount lose their civil right to receive these offices at the hands of their fellow citizens. It is true that were the law otherwise the practice would be most generally the same. The natural influence of wealth will be always felt, nor would electors be disposed to degrade them-

* By the constitution of Connecticut all Freemen are eligible to all offices. I am not acquainted with the regulation of the Western States in this particular, but I doubt if they require any other qualification than the people's choice.

selves, and hazard the publick business, by choosing such men as from their stations in life could hardly be supposed capable of the information and leisure necessary for transacting it; but the more likely these reasons are to prevail the less cause is there for enforcing them by a constitutional precept, especially by one which implies a falsehood, in supposing a natural connexion betwixt property and merit, or trust worthiness.

The qualification of property seems therefore a deviation from the principle of equality* in civil rights.

If, however, the qualifications of Property be not free from objection, still less is that of Religion.

The constitutions of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the Carolinas, require a profession of belief in Christianity, and several of them limit the species of it to Protestantism. An act of the Virginia Assembly requires a belief of the Trinity in Unity.

Here we have a right, subjected to a contingency, over which the disqualified person has no control. If the evidence of certain doctrines be insufficient to establish his belief, doubting is not a matter of option; but he may *pretend* to believe, and a legislative premium is thus offered to hypocrisy:—and for what purpose? To exclude Infidels from offices of trust.—But if the people perceive them to be unworthy, they will not elect them, and if they do not perceive this, why are Electors to be deprived of the right to confer, as well as Infidels to receive? The judgment of Eligibility can properly exist no where but in the breasts of the choosers. It is true these may err, because, being human, they are fallible, but they are liable to errour only, whereas legislatures which destroy rights, where no offence has been committed, are guilty of injustice, as well as errour.

* It is not intended to advocate the idea of bestowing power on the lowest member of the community; but it seems that the end would be equally answered without violating the principle. In England the qualification for a member, though not great for a wealthy country, proves so inconvenient, that it is found necessary to evade it by no very honest fiction.

This consideration naturally leads to that of the moral principle next enumerated by Mr. Taylor, Religious Freedom.

3. Religious Freedom is an inherent civil right, because, first, men could never surrender that dominion over their consciences, which they do not possess themselves; and secondly, because errour in religion is no injury done to society, and is therefore not cognizable by its laws: yet, from the days of the Pythian oracle, to the present time, man has continued to employ the voice of Heaven to govern man, and pretended, by legal interference, to regulate his communion with the Deity. The impiety of this attempt naturally gives rise to a suspicion that the establishers of state religions believe in none. "When a government," says Mr. Taylor, "usurps the power of legislating betwixt God and man, it proves itself to be an atheist. If it believed there was a God, it would be conscious of the vice and folly of making one. If it believed there was any revelation, it would see the vice and folly of construing it by laws which are not revelation." p. 456.

A state religion must be admitted to be a convenient engine, for the few to govern the many. A salaried Priesthood exercises over minds the same despotism that a standing army exercises over bodies; it enforces implicit obedience to the dictates of one creed, both in religion and politicks, and thrusts the schismatick into outer darkness in both worlds. Were it *sincere* in its belief, it could not fail to shrink from the absurdity of assuming to itself the interpretation of the decrees of Heaven, and of pretending to confine, within the span of its own narrow intellect, the justice and mercy of Omnipotent Goodness.

Should we examine the reasons alleged in support of a Legal Religion, we shall find them all bottomed, either on fraud or impiety. A religion established by law, is one which the people are compelled to pay for, and prohibited from denying. "I do not believe," (should a recusant say,) "the doctrines your church teaches, yet you compel me to contribute to its support, and punish me if I deny its dogmas: for whose profit do you thus legislate? certainly not for mine, at least in this world." It is for your eternal advantage," (replies Established Religion,) "you should be thus punished in pocket, and

restrained from uttering your disbelief." "Upon what authority do you affirm, that tormenting me here, will profit me hereafter?" "Upon authority which is infallible; that of the word of God." "Not according to my interpretation of His word."——"But according to *mine*, and *mine* is the only right one."

If this were sincerely uttered, it would be impiety; but the personal advantage of the victim is now rarely urged, except by the Holy Office; the ground most generally assumed, is, the interest of society, which requires, say politicians and priests, that there should be a State Religion, and penalties for recusants. The question is here begged upon three points. First, That there would be no religion, unless the law established one. Secondly, that the one established is the true:—and Thirdly, That the interest of society requires the sacrifice of individual rights; the preservation of which is the object of society.

First.—Religious worship is a mental act, commonly but not necessarily evinced, by certain outward signs of devotion. A mental act is no subject of legislation, which can neither create nor un-create it: but it can create the outward signs; that is, it can create hypocrites, but not worshippers. It pretends to legislate for the Deity, by doing for him what he has thought unnecessary to be done; namely, the forcing men within the pale of a particular church. The fact too, is in striking contradiction to this pretended necessity. There is more religion in the United States than in England,*

* Rhode Island presents a striking proof of the little real necessity there is for the establishment of religion by law. "Not only does the constitution of this state reject every species of legal establishment, but," says Mr. Morse, "a peculiarity which distinguishes this state from every other protestant country in the known world, is, that no contract formed by the minister with his people for his salary, is valid in law. So that ministers are dependant wholly on the integrity of the people for their support: since their salaries are not recoverable by law. It ought in justice, however, to be observed, that the clergy, in general, are liberally maintained; and none who merit it have reason to complain for want of support." American Geography, p. 206.

and more in England than in Italy. The closer the monopoly, the less abundant the commodity.

Secondly.—Why does the law compel me to contribute to maintain a particular church? Because the doctrines of such church are true. Are there more churches in this predicament, or is the national church the *only* true one? If there be more, I may as conscientiously adhere to one of these as to the legal one. Why then must I contribute to the latter, of which I am not a member? If I follow truth, the penalty cannot be for the good of my soul, and it will hardly be pretended it is for the good of my pocket.

If the national church be the only true one, I ought indeed to maintain it; but we are at issue upon this point; How shall it be decided? By argument.—But why then must I pay before I am convinced? By authority.—If the church be Protestant, this argument destroys its own rights, for it was established upon reason in contradiction to authority. Well then, you shall pay, because we who are of the Established Church are more numerous than you, and find it convenient you should contribute to ease us of our burden.

There would be candour in replying thus, and candour of any sort is preferable to preaching piety, and practising injustice.

Thirdly.—The publick good in matters of religion as well as politicks, is frequently urged as a reason for sacrificing individuals. The publick good requires a state religion, a state religion cannot be supported, except all be compelled to contribute; *ergo*, &c.—The consequence implies the schismatick minority must contribute with the rest,

Experience enables the United States to deny the major of this proposition; Religion both exists and thrives without a Legal Establishment. It cannot indeed be moulded into an instrument of state-craft.

The General government adheres strictly to the principle of freedom. It is however violated by the tests of some State governments; by which Jews and conscientious Infidels are excluded from office.

The State of Virginia is, I believe, the only one, which by an act of Assembly of 1705, adds penalties to disqualifications *

It has been asserted, that disqualifications are not penalties, because offices are not matter of right, but of grace.*

It is true, as has been already observed, that power or office is not a matter of right, but disqualification destroys both the right to give and the right to receive; the latter of which is as truly inherent as the former. (*Vid. supra*, *p.* 303.)

4. Freedom of Inquiry is another inherent right, whether in matters religious or political.

Legal restraint upon the freedom of religious discussion is founded upon two absurdities; one, that the Deity needs human aid to vindicate his name; the other, that man is competent to vindicate it. God visits the atheist with no peculiar punishment in this life, therefore man thinks it necessary he should legislate in the place of God. "But we punish for examples' sake, says Persecution; we burn him and his books to prevent the contagion from spreading."

Is the example then so seducing, or the doctrine so convincing? Neither;—no man can be an atheist, unless he be an idiot or a knave. Well then, for the sake of destroying an example which none but rogues will follow, and crushing doctrines which will pursuade none but idiots, you set an example of cruelty and impiety which you know all generations *have* followed.

But if the highest species of irreligion be not a fit matter for persecution, still less are those differences of opinion denominated Heresy and Infidelity. I have opened the volume of nature before your eyes, says the Deity, and permitted you to draw your own conclusions. You shall read in my book, says Established Religion, and believe all it contains, under pain of persecution in this life, and damnation in the next.

* I imagine this act is practically a dead letter; its existence however violates the principle, vid. Jefferson's notes. Query 17. p. 234. edit. viii.

* Vide the 1st vol. of Warburton's "Divine Legation."

A political system which thus substitutes the outcry of pride and ignorance for the voice of nature, is built on the principles of force and fraud.

There is no restraint on political discussion in America. This is a triumph, both in principle and practice, which belongs to the Democatick party.

In the year 1798, during Mr Adams' administration, a sedition law was past, by the second section of which, the writing, printing, or publishing, any false, scandalous, and malicious writing, against the Government of the United States, either House of Congress, or the President, "with intent to defame and bring either of them into contempt," was made punishable by fine and imprisonment.

The author of the "Olive Branch," commenting in favour of this law, observes, that it created "a senseless and disgraceful clamour," in which however, "were engaged vast numbers of the best and most intelligent members of the community." He then subjoins; "It would be uncandid not to state, that the trials under this act, for libels against the President, and as far as my recollection serves me, against some of the other publick functionaries, were managed with very considerable rigour; and from the abuse of the law, tended to give an appearance of propriety and justice to the clamour against it. The cases of Thomas Cooper, and Matthew Lyon, Esqrs., who were both treated with remarkable severity, excited a high degree of sympathy in the publick mind. Of the two cases, it may be justly said; *summum jus*, *summa injuria*," p. 55. 7th ed. Mr. Carey concludes by observing, that a neglect on the part of Mr. Jefferson, to procure the re-enactment of this law, "casts an indelible stain on his administration."

This statement, taken altogether, forms an invaluable commentary on the justice and wisdom of libel and sedition laws.

It has ever been the policy of the Federalists to "strengthen the hands of Government:" no measure can be imagined more effectual for this purpose, than a law which gifts the ruling powers with infallibility; but no sooner was it enacted, than it revealed its hostility to

the principles of the American system, by generating oppression under the cloak of defending social order.*

If there ever was a period when circumstances seemed to justify what are called energetick measures, it was during the administrations of Mr. Jefferson and his successor.

A disastrous war began to rage, not only on the frontiers, but in the very penetralia of the republick. To oppose veteran troops, the ablest generals, and the largest fleets in the world; the American government had raw recruits, officers who had never seen an enemy, half-a-dozen frigates, and a population unaccustomed to sacrifices, and impatient of taxation.

To crown these disadvantages, a most important section of the Union, the New England States, openly set up the standard of separation and rebellion; a Convention sat for the express purpose of thwarting the measures of Government, while the press and pulpit thundered every species of denunciation against whoever should assist their own country in the hour of danger.†

All this was the work, not of Jacobins, and Democrats, but of the staunch friends of religion and social order, who had been so zealously attached to the Government, while it was administered by their own party, that they suffered not the popular breath "to visit the President's breech too roughly."

* In New Jersey, a man was found guilty and punished under this law, "for the simple wish that the wadding of a gun discharged on a festival day, had made an inroad into, or singed the posteriors of Mr. Adams." "Olive Branch," p. 89.

† In Boston, associations were entered into for the purpose of preventing the filling up of government loans; individuals disposed to subscribe were obliged to do it in secret, and conceal their names, as if the action had been dishonest. Vide "Olive Branch," p. 307. At the same time immense runs were made by the Boston Banks, on those of the central and southern States, while the specie thus drained, was transmitted to Canada, in payment for smuggled goods, and British government bills, which were drawn in Quebec, and disposed of in great numbers on advantageous terms to monied men in the States. Mr. Henry's mission is the best proof of the result anticipated by our Government, from these proceedings in New England.

The course pursued, both by Mr. Jefferson, and Mr. Madison, throughout this season of difficulty, merits the gratitude of their country, and the imitation of all governments pretending to be free.

So far were they from demanding any extraordinary powers from Congress, that they did not even enforce to their full extent, those with which they were by the constitution invested.

The process of reasoning, on which they probably acted, may be thus stated. The majority of the nation is with us, because the war is national. The interests of a minority suffer, and self-interest is clamourous when injured. It carries its opposition to an extreme, inconsistent with its political duty. Shall we leave it an undisturbed career of faction, or seek to put it down, with libel and sedition laws? In the first case, it will grow bold from impunity, its proceedings will be more and more outrageous; but every step it takes to thwart us, will be a step in favour of the enemy, and consequently, so much ground lost in publick opinion: but as publick opinion is the only instrument by which a minority can convert a majority to its views, impunity, by revealing its motives, affords the surest chance of defeating its intent. In the latter case, we quit the ground of reason, to take that of force: we give the factious the advantage of seeming persecuted: by repressing intemperate discussion, we confess ourselves liable to be injured by it. If we seek to shield our reputation by a libel-law, we acknowledge, either that our conduct will not bear investigation, or, that the people are incapable of distinguishing betwixt truth and falsehood; but for a popular Government to impeach the sanity of the nation's judgment, is to overthrow the pillars of its own elevation.

The event triumphantly proved the correctness of this reasoning; the Federalists awoke from the delirium of factious intoxication, and found themselves covered with contempt and shame. Their country had been in danger, and they gloried in her distress: she had exposed herself to privations, from which they had extracted profit: in her triumphs they had no part, except that of having mourned over, and depreciated them. Since the war, Federalism has been scarcely heard of.

I proceed to consider the *principle* of libel-laws, as set up against freedom of political discussion.

The language of despotism is honest and consistent on this point. In Turkey she says, You, the people, have no business with government, but to obey it; with religion, but to believe it. The Koran suffices both for your faith, and moral conduct; you have therefore no business with discussion, except it be to discuss the arching of a Circassian's eye brows.—Sleep, and smoke in quiet; we answer for your souls and bodies.

Libel-law in a free government, says; Being freemen you have a right to discuss the conduct of your government, whether it be right or wrong; provided always, you conclude that it is right, otherwise you tend to bring it into contempt, and therefore shall be punished.—But it is only intemperate discussion we object to, say politicians: so far from blaming, we are friends to a moderate opposition.—Yes, provided it injure you, neither in profit, power, nor reputation. You would be tickled, not wounded. A well regulated opposition preserves a shew of freedom. Two factions are struggling for place; the *Outs* blame all the measures of the *Ins*, but they would not therefore diminish the perquisites of the places they hope one day to fill.

Discussion may attack Persons, or Principles.

The American constitution, by confining treason to overt acts, leaves the utterance of opinions free, however they may tend to bring the constitution into contempt.—Why? Because discussion being free, it supposes truth will prevail.

If therefore the constitution could be shewn to be bad, it seems more rational to amend, or change it, than to punish those who reveal its defects. Libel law supposes either that falsehood is in fair fight, more potent than truth, or that political systems may possess the first attribute of the Deity, perfection.

They set up a political idol, and say; "Behold your God; bow down to it: you may find fault with the trappings of its throne, or the pavement beneath its feet; or even, provided it be done tenderly, with the ministers of its altar, but beware of proclaiming that it is itself the work of hands, wood and stone."

A Constitution which permits the free examination of itself, falls into an absurdity, when it passes a law to shield its agents from a similar freedom. It is still more absurd to erect a man into a God, than a constitution; it is also more dangerous, for the living idol will not be long satisfied with empty prostrations; it must be fed with lives and property.

Is therefore every species of calumny to be poured out against a government, without restraint or punishment? Calumnies against the theory of a government, injure no one; nor the government itself, except it be founded on evil moral principles. The evidence of facts would bear it out, even were there not more persons interested in its defence than in its attack. The annals of the world offer not a single instance of a good government overthrown, or brought into contempt by discussion. Mankind are not too prone to change habits, even of the worst description; they have gone on for ages and centuries enduring tyranny and oppression, for no better reason than because their fathers endured them before. Libel-laws are, indeed, essential to the security of governments founded on force and fraud, as masks and daggers protect thieves and cut throats.

The persons administering a government, cannot require greater immunities for themselves than the Constitution claims for itself. "Reverence for a magistrate, (says Mr. Taylor,) is frequently contempt for a constitution." He thinks himself unjustly assailed; shall he therefore have a law for his protection, which he may convert into an instrument of oppression? If the situation he fills will neither enable him to defy calumny, nor remunerate him for its injustice, he is free to return to the walks of private life, and claim, as an individual, that legal protection for his character, which the constitution affords him, but let not ministers be gratified with the sacrifice of inherent rights to protect their own crimes and follies.

"Caligula's appointment of his horse to the consulship, is both an illustration and a mockery of the ideas of national sovereignty without the freedom of utterance; and a nation, the members of which can only speak and write as Government pleases, is exactly this consular sovereign." Taylor, p. 472.

5.—Division of Power is the vital spirit of the American system: convert it into accumulation, and all other securities perish; preserve this, and they can never be altogether extinguished.

Man is feeble when confined to his own individual means; Power enables him to use the strength of others; it is therefore the readiest instrument for gratifying his own desires at the expense of others, and ranks foremost in the class of vicious excitements.

Is this vicious attribute of power capable of being neutralized; or must a nation, in framing its government necessarily submit its neck to a yoke? Monarchy, aristocracy, democracy, and the system of orders are all so many memorials of the efforts mankind have made to free themselves from the dilemma of anarchy and despotism.

They have all been unfortunate, for they have all worked by different roads to the same end, namely, the substitution of the interests of a minority for those of the majority; but they have all this common quality, concentration of power in the hands of a few.

The American system, deeming the nation the fountain of power, considers it absurd to collect it a second time into reservoirs, which are not the nation; and therefore distributes it in streams sufficient only to give motion to the several engines of government.

The principle of Distribution may be thus stated:—Power is a vicious excitement, because it impels its possessor to gratify himself at the expense of others; the greater the power, the greater the possible gratification: concentration therefore affords the greatest possible excitement. But as the increase of power increases its vicious qualities, so will its diminution diminish them: diminish it therefore to such a degree that it is unable to extract any selfish gratifications at the expense of others, and it becomes divested of its evil moral quality, and capable of being employed to the advantage of the people. But as government represents all the portions of individual liberty sacrificed for the good of society, its power must, in the aggregate, suffice to oppress individuals, unless some expedient be hit upon, to counteract this effect. This expedient is Division. The American people, by sacrificing a much less portion of its freedom than other nations, or rather by retaining in its own hands, powers, which other

nations have committed to their Governments, has sought in diminution a method of counteracting the evil effects of power: it employs Division for the same purpose by investing the General, and State governments respectively with a portion of power, which portion is again subdivided in each among several agencies, entitled Executive, Legislative, and Judicial branches.

The test of the success of these expedients, must be looked for in the experience the nation possesses of the ability of one, or all of them, to extract individual gratification at the publick expense.

The portion of power allotted to the General government naturally claims the first place in this examination.

In 1798 Virginia, and Kentucky framed resolutions expressive of an idea that the General Government had evinced a spirit of encroachment, "tending to consolidate the States into one sovereignty."* The political principles of the Federalists are acknowledged to have this tendency. It is from their disposition to strengthen the General Government, under the idea of strengthening the union, that they first obtained, or assumed the name of Federalist.

We accordingly find, in the executive power of the General Government, a degree of accumulation not quite consistent with the principle of division, observed by the State Governments. "The governours of nine States, comprising a majority of the people, are annually chosen, and are ineligible after certain terms; those of the other states are chosen for two and three years one excepted, and a multitude of other important differences exist, between the modification of executive power, under the General and State constitutions." Taylor, p. 169. Now if the Governors of thirteen States have for thirty years, found their limited powers sufficient for executive purposes, it would follow, that those of the General Executive, must be more than sufficient.

The power of the President has been, seemingly with justice, compared with that of the King of England; the difference consists less in the power each of them possesses, than in that which the people of either nation re-

* These Resolutions were framed by Mr. Madison and Mr. Jefferson.

tains: Mr. Taylor thus draws the comparison: "This King cannot create offices, inflict taxes, pass laws, or raise armies; neither can the President. The King can appoint officers, disburse taxes, recommend laws, and command armies; so can the President. This King can make treaties under check of two legislative branches; the President can make treaties under the check of one. This King can appoint the members of the legislature to lucrative offices; so can the President; and in both cases an appointment vacates the seat. This King appoints the judges and the officers who appoint the juries; so does the President." p. 172.

It would seem, that the framers of the General Government had the English constitution in their contemplation, when they invested the President with this accumulation of power; less probably because they wished to assimilate the two, than because the theories which had been built upon the system of orders, had concurred in the idea, that particular powers and patronage were essentially inherent in the executive; a notion, which if closely examined, has, perhaps, little foundation; the result however is, that the American government is both more like the British than it *seems*, and also *seems* more like than it is, according to the point of view of the observer.

The little external parade, the absence of a court, nobility, army, and established church; with the elective nature of the presidency, seem to form distinctions sufficient to destroy all comparison betwixt them. The comparative estimate of executive powers, above quoted, seems, on the other hand, to give them a radical, though unostentatious approximation;* and would in fact do so, but for two principles of the system, which it remains to consider.—Uncorrrupted Representation, and actual Responsibility.

6. Uncorrupted Representation.—Democracy is a form of government, capable of exciting evil moral qualities. It is evident, that a nation has no interest in oppressing individuals, but it is possible, under particular circumstances, to persuade it that it has such an interest; and these cir-

* It was probably on this view, that Mr. Randolph spoke, when he said in Congress. "Torture the constitution as you will, the President will appoint his successor, and should he ever have a son of the proper age, that son will succeed him."

cumstances necessarily arise more frequently in democracies; first, because the people being its own agent, and legislating collectively, its errours of judgment lead on the instant to erroneous, or vicious actions: secondly, because in all assemblies, some individuals must lead, and if the leaders be vicious, they will substitute their own interests for those of the community. Democracies are therefore liable to errour and violence.

It is easy for a nation to avoid these inconveniences, by committing its power to agents, but this is remedying an evil by a greater, since agents, with the same means, have far greater inducements to oppress individuals. Representation was invented to avoid both, by diminishing the liability to errour, inherent in democracies, and also the propensity to oppression, common to other forms, constructed with undelegated power.

If a nation exercises sovereignty, neither corporately nor by delegates, it abandons the right of self-government, and accepts the evils of despotism.

What is representation? The exercise of a vicarious function. How can one man stand in the place of, or represent another? Clearly not by his own act and authority, for such an attempt in any transaction of life, would be regarded either as an indication of lunacy, or as fraudulent, and dishonest. The act of the person represented is therefore essential to the constituting a representative; besides, one man can only be said to represent another, when he expresses such sentiments, or performs such acts, as the person represented would, most probably, himself perform, were he present in person; in this manner, one man may represent many,* provided the many are essentially of one mind, as to the matters to be performed by the representative. But what certainty can be obtained, that one man represents the will and opinions of many, unless the many, by an act of delegation, so declare? Election, therefore, is essential to representation. But if so, what meaning is to be attached to representation, not founded on election? or, with what reason can such representation be styled *virtual* or essential, when it is built on the exclusion of that which constitutes its essence? Yet, Mr. Adams considers an hereditary monarch, as representing the whole nation, in its executive capacity!

* The proportion of representatives fixed by the constitution for the general government, is one to every 30,000 inhabitants.

The whole American system is representative. The Senate represents the States; each State sends an equal number of Senators (two) that equality may be preserved betwixt the strong and the weak, the small and great States.

The Senate represents the federal will, as the House of Representatives, the popular will.

The President represents both. "He is," says Mr. Taylor, "the compound creature of the equality of states, and of the equality of man, both of which are infused into the mode of his election, for the purpose of preserving both." p. 505.*

If there were any portion of power in the American system, not derived from the nation, that portion would be at variance with the principle of National Sovereignty, and built upon those of force and fraud.

When power has been distributed and conferred by election, is all done that is necessary to secure freedom, and prevent the abuses of Constitutional Agents? Election may become a most efficacious instrument of tyranny, by conferring powers unlimited, or ill-defined. Bonaparte was an Elective Despot.

But when the powers of the functionary have been limited by constitutional precept, does any further danger remain? Power not representative, is not subjected to the national will, and therefore may be used against it; but we have considered it essential to representation, that the representative should disclose sentiments conformable to those of the represented: What security have electors for this? Human opinions change: the mind of man is not to-morrow what is to-day; consequently, the representative of to-day may be no representative to-morrow. Theoretically, there is no remedy for this evil, because it results from the natural qualities of the human mind; but its practical evils may be averted, by diminishing the period of representation in such a degree, that frequent recurrence must be made to the national will; so that changes of opinion betwixt the electors and elected, may

* The mode of Presidential Elections, has been found so objectionable, that a bill was brought into Congress, in December 1816, to amend the Constitution in this particular, by leaving the States less discretionary power, and augmenting the popular influence.

have no time to operate to the publick disadvantage. This recurrence constitutes the principle of Rotation, applied to all offices of the American Government.

The House of Representatives is chosen every second year. The senators are chosen for six years; but they were divided, on their first election, into three classes, one class to vacate their seats every second year; so that one third of the whole body is biennially renewed.

The President holds his office for four years.

The design of the American Government being to destroy the operation of evil moral principles, the duration as well as the extent of representative power, becomes a question reducible to the criterion of experience, pronouncing how frequently it must be renovated, to prevent its awakening vicious propensities. Absolute power, conveyed by election, for however short a period, destroys National Sovereignty; because, to the greatest possible excitement to destroy rotation, it unites the greatest possible means. A less degree of power, conveyed for an unlimited period, produces nearly the same effect, because power attracts power; and having no constitutional limit to its duration, it will go on increasing into despotism, unless checked by Revolution.

The evil qualities of Power, increasing therefore in a ratio compounded of its intensity and duration, provided these be reduced to a minimum, the evil qualities of Power will be diminished in like proportion. The minimum of Political Power, is the quantity sufficing for the purposes of its creation only: whatever is more than this, becomes an instrument of individual profit in the hands of its possessor. The minimum of Duration, is that which merely suffices for publick business. For example, if a President, without the power of appointing judges, should be found equally capable of filling the executive station, with one possessing this power, the former is more in unison with the principles of the American Constitution than the latter. If a House of Representatives, elected annually, be found as efficacious for the purposes of publick business as one elected biennially, the former is, for the same reason, to be preferred to the latter.

The question of representation involves that of political corruption, because it is in vitiating the former, that the evil effects of the latter are most conspicuous.

Montesquieu has made Virtue the vital principle of Republicanism; and consequences the most injurious to Freedom, have been deduced from this authoritative axiom.

The essence of Republicanism is virtue; but mankind are vicious; therefore a Republick is an impossible form of Government; and the demonstration is usually closed with a pitying glance of conscious superiority, at such as are romantick enough to dream of Virtue, Republicanism, and the Perfectibility of the human species.

The sophism lies in the double meaning of an abstract term.

If by Political Virtue, be understood a sacrifice of self-interest, an heroick abstraction of personal considerations, such a quality neither is, nor could be a general principle of human action. It may burn in the bosoms of a few consecrated individuals, shining here and there, athwart the night of ages, but a system of Government which should require its habitual and uniform agency, could exist no where but on paper. If, on the contrary, by Virtue, we understand a principle of utility, evincing itself by laws, operating for the general good, then is Virtue both the essential principle of Republicanism, and also a quality sufficiently attainable by human institutions. A republick cannot exist without virtuous laws, that is, without laws generally useful; but is any degree of self devotion requisite to the making of useful laws, or can none but completely virtuous men make them? On the contrary, cannot robbers frame laws generally useful to their own society? A law generally useful, is one conformable to each man's individual interest. And how can men be induced to frame such laws? By a knowledge of this interest. General utility therefore, resolvable into enlightened self-interest, is the vital principle of Republicanism.

When a nation commits its legislative powers to individuals, chosen by itself, what security has it that these will legislate for the general, and not for their private advantage? By lecturing them on virtue, and self devotion? Clearly not—but by withdrawing from them all temptation to offend. If they be entrusted with the power of pocketing the publick money, they will pocket it; or if the Executive branch be enabled to confer a portion of

it on them, they will accept it, and in return legislate, both to increase the capability of the Executive to confer, and of themselves to receive: they will concur in debt, taxes, and standing armies, provided they are to be rewarded with loans, lucrative places, and commissions; and if a seat in the legislature be the portal to these acquisitions, they will procure seats by bribery and corruption, and double the publick impositions to repay themselves the price thus advanced. But will the electors submit to be bribed and corrupted, and thus become the instruments of their own oppression? Yes—for if one branch of the constitution possess the means of corruption, the other will not fail to become its instrument. The elector therefore reasons thus; the President can by law bestow a lucrative office on my representative, and my representative can by law accept it; he will therefore, either from possession or expectation, legislate in the President's favour: if I refuse the bribe he offers me, the issue will be the same; and though I am aware additional taxation must enable him to repay himself the sums thus expended, yet my share of the tax will be less than my share of the bribe.—If the system admits of corruption the formulæ are mere matters of moonshine. The statement of the evil unfolds the remedy. The evil lies in the President's ability to bestow. and that of the representative to receive; the latter is a consequence of the former. Destroy the former, and you leave, in the mind of the representative, no interest superiour to that which he has in common with his constituents; the interest all the members of a state have, in the making of good laws; he will consequently legislate in favour of this interest.

It is admitted however, that a certain degree of patronage must be attached to the executive branch of the constitution. The question consequently becomes one of plus and minus, a matter of calculation to discover the quantity with which it may be safely entrusted, so that it shall neither have the means of bribing the legislature, nor the legislature in consequence find it worth while to bribe the people.*

* If the means be limited, the number of prizes in the Political Lottery is diminished. If a proportionate increase of Representatives follow an extension of the right of suffrage, and Elections be made more frequent, the chances of gaining

It may be doubted if the American system has absolutely reached the minimum in this respect; certain however it is that the people retain such a control over their representatives, as either wholly to prevent their legislating in their own favour, or to compel them to a speedy recantation, should they attempt it.*

The solution of the question of political corruption incidentally resolves that of Universal Suffrage; a right, as has been seen, restricted by several of the State Constitutions, although, except in Virginia, the qualifications required are probably such as to exclude few but paupers. The question is therefore rather of abstract right, than of practice.

When the right of suffrage is limited, that is, when persons contributing to the expenses, are debarred from any share in the control of the expenditure of the State, the reason of this limitation (if the naked *jus fortioris* be not assumed) must be sought in some pretext of moral guilt, or of publick utility. It is objected, that poor men, that is, men who have less than the majority of their fellow citizens, will be fit subjects for bribery:—granted, but upon what grounds are they therefore to be punished? If a deprivation of an inherent right is to be attached to a liability to be corrupted, why should not the same deprivation be attached to the liability to corrupt, and very rich men be equally punished with very poor men? The moral guilt would be at least equal should the crime be committed, and that they should be presumptively punished, is no harder in one case than the other. If not moral guilt, but publick utility be the object, it seems superfluous to object to popular corruption, under a system which enforces legislative corruption. Where the carcass is, the flies will be collected, if one branch of a government possess the means to corrupt, the other branches will present the facility to be corrupted, whatever may be the mode of their election. Under such

a prize are proportionably reduced, until it becomes a knave's interest to be honest, or forbear his political calling.

* An instance occurred lately. Congress passed a bill, commuting the daily allowance to Members for an annual stipend. The People resented such an appropriation of the publick money: turned out forty of the offending Members at the next Election, and compelled the rest to sing a Palinodia.

circumstances, the limitation of the elective franchise, and laws against bribery and corruption, are equivalent to a law prohibiting maggots from breeding in a dead dog: bury the carcass, and there will be no broods deriving life from its putridity: to drop the metaphor, remove the means of corruption, and there will be no bribery for the purpose of being corrupted. The persons most ready to bribe are precisely those, who have the least inclination to expend their money without a sufficient return: the people are not corrupted by those who are to reap no fruits from their corruption, and when no one has interest in bribing his suffrage, the poor man's vote is as liable to be well bestowed as the rich man's. The true state of this question will be further evident, from considering the futility of all remedies for corruption, which do not reach the heart of the disease. In Virginia, great powers of patronage are concentrated in the Legislature, much corruption, is, consequently, to be found in the Government, and yet the Elective Franchise is more limited than in any State of the Union.

To destroy corruption by limiting the Elective Franchise, proceeds upon the logical errour of *non causam pro causâ*; that bribery is practised, because there are people capable of being bribed, not because there are people who find it worth while to bribe them.

Another false position is assumed, namely, that none but poor men are capable of being bribed; and this too, while the very act of limitation implies, that rich men will bribe, and consequently, receive bribes. The representative who buys the elector's vote, sells his own to the President, or to whatever branch of the constitution possesses the means of buying it: it is true, that the vote of a man of property may cost more than that of a poor man, but this is made up to the candidate in the diminished number of his purchases; so far, however, is this diminution from diminishing the inducement to sell, that it evidently increases the temptation, by raising the value of the commodity; and so on, the greater the diminution becomes.

7. Actual Responsibity.—Responsibility pervades every portion of the American System: each branch of the Government is responsible; therefore, the whole is responsible.*

* Punishment in cases of impeachment, extends only to removal from office and disqualification: the reason seems to

Responsibility implies a power superiour to that of responsible agents: it would be absurd to suppose a greater power responsible to a less, or an equal to an equal. According to the American system, this superiour power is in the nation, which has reserved to itself the means, both of manifesting and of enforcing its will. The House of Representatives is the organ it employs for the first of these purposes; the Militia for the second: these, together, constitute the moral and physical expressions of National Sovereignty. Responsibility, therefore, hinges upon uncorrupted representation, and division of power. The separation of these two principles discloses on either side anarchy and despotism. Should the moral organ become vitiated; should the House of Representatives cease to represent the people, and consequently to express the national will, there remains only the employment of physical force, to avoid the evils of despotism; but physical force, however adequate to punish and destroy, is too commonly found an inadequate instrument to amend and re-establish.

The other alternative is still more fatal. Should the nation give the sword from its own grasp, while its organ of representation is still uncontaminated, the latter, to use Mr. Taylor's expression, "is John the Baptist preaching to a wilderness:" nor will the barren boon of proclaiming its own imbecility be long conceded to it; that branch of the Government, which had found means to disarm a nation, will not long fail, either forcibly to silence its representatives, or, still more fatally to convert them into panders of its will, and sharers in its corruption.

Upon a review of the History of Governments, both ancient and modern, we find, that all of them have been proved adequate to ensure considerable periods of publick tranquillity, provided they possessed such a concentration of power, as to render opposition fruitless. But history also teaches that this same concentration has no less invariably destroyed publick happiness, by destroying responsibility, and committing the whole management of

be that responsibility attaches itself to the abuse of legal powers only, not to breaches of positive law which are cognizable by the ordinary courts of justice: but actions which are not illegal, cannot justly be punished as crimes; but they may evince viciousness of intention, or weakness of intellect, and in either case, the nation justly assumes the power of withdrawing the authority it had bestowed for its own advantage.

the political machine to force and fraud. The object of the American system is to secure both: publick happiness, by the responsibility of political agents; and tranquillity, by a concentration of power. How then are the evils resulting from the latter, under other systems, avoided in this? By changing the depositaries.—When a government is stronger than the nation, national sovereignty is a dream, and constitutional rights waste paper, on which governments inscribe taxes, standing armies, patronage, and corruption. The American people are stronger than the government, in the proportion of fifty to one, or of 500,000 Militia to 10.000 regular troops, and if we take into calculation the immense territory over which the regulars are scattered, the proportion may well be set at 500 to one.

The American Government has been accused of weakness and inefficiency. If its strength be measured against that of the people, the above statement will prove the accusation just. If it be considered in union with the publick will, it is probably the strongest on earth; since it is backed by the whole moral and physical power of the nation; in proof of which may be alledged its ability to steer through the period of the late war, without requiring the additional defence of a single act of Congress; and the simplicity with which it works, in ordinary times, when a constable's staff is sufficient to enforce the execution of the law from Maine to the Missouri. It is probable the weakest of all Governments are precisely those which call themselves vigorous and energetick; and should that of America be ever heard to call for laws to put down the factious, and to declare that the anarchical spirit of the times required the application of measures unusually vigorous, and contrary to the practice of her better days, however the forms of her constitution may be retained, its principles will have been rooted out, and fraud and force substituted in their place, to work the gratification of the few, at the expense of the many.

8.—Knowledge—Knowledge is power. Men submit as implicitly to those who persuade, as to those who command them: with this distinction in favour of the former, that good will accompanies persuasion, and shrinks from authority. All Governments are sensible of this truth, and it is for this reason, that such of them as are established upon a denial of national sovereignty, and consequent-

ly upon evil moral principles, never fail to unite fraud to force, for the purpose of commanding the minds, as well as bodies of their subjects. The object, in this case, is to substitute in the minds of the governed, the advantage of their rulers, for their own; and this may be effected in two ways; first, by not suffering them to be instructed at all, in which case the power of Government presses with the force of fatalism, and requires only the aid of a legal religion to give it a divine sanction, that the mental chain may be completely rivetted. Secondly, by the Government becoming itself the instructor: which is generally effected by means of a legal religion, by the priests of which the business of education is, by various processes, monopolized. Knowledge, under these circumstances, resembles light passing through a coloured medium; it represents the form of objects, but gives them artificial hues.

The American system is necessarily repugnant to both these methods: the right of instruction is one of those which the nation retains in its own hands. To entrust it to a government or a priesthood, would be to substitute the political or religious creed of a sect, or party, in the place of the interests of the nation.

SECTION IV.

OF THE EFFECTS OF THE AMERICAN SYSTEM.

Governments create neither men nor food; consequently they cannot create happiness.*

Their operation is preventive, by neutralizing the tendency each man has to injure others, for the sake of benefitting himself; and this seems to be the only positive operation by which they are capable of promoting national felicity. The first and essential attribute of good government is, therefore, security for persons and property, by means of which the universal stimulus of self-love is left

* Happiness, as a political result, may be defined to be the enjoyment of personal freedom, and of the means of subsistence, sufficient for each individual, with those naturally dependant on him; meaning by sufficient, not the minimum of subsistence necessary for existence, but including a degree of comfort proportioned to the progress of the society in which he lives, and to the enjoyments of the upper classes in it.

full scope to work out the good of each individual, without injury to others.

The laws protect personal freedom in America, because they express the general will, and are therefore paramount over any individual, or combination of individual interests.

The remedy for illegal imprisonment is, as in England, by writ of Habeas Corpus, which issues in all cases whatever, and can be suspended in its operation by an Act of Congress only, which, by a constitutional precept, may be past "in cases of rebellion, and invasion only:" and as the nation, by its representatives, is to judge of the occasion, it is scarcely possible for a President to use the pretext of plots, and conspiracies, to suspend the privileges of the people.*

The American system secures property by actual representation, and division of power. The first constitutes the people judges of the necessity and amount of taxation to be imposed; the second prevents the generation of any interest, in opposition to that of the people, by which its property might, forcibly or fraudently, be extracted from it.†

But while the healthful operation of Governments is thus limited, their powers of producing evil dilate almost into infinity. They cannot create a blade of grass, but they can desolate the Universe; and it is from this consideration we ascribe to them as virtue, the evils they forbear to create.

It would be endless to institute a comparison betwixt the American system and other forms of Government, upon every item of calamity Governments are capable of producing; one however, may be selected, because it is either the cause or consequence of all others; and of itself fully expresses by its increase or diminution, the essential nature of Political Systems: it is Want.‡

* The Habeas Corpus act was never suspended during the late war.

† Any body of men having a powerful interest in deceiving a nation, will probably in the long run, deceive it; and since there is scarcely any limit to human credulity, a system of fraud once begun, will be even more ruinous than one of simple oppression, because good-will in the former case, will re-produce the food of the vulture, which preys upon it.

‡ Want is politically the reverse of political happiness: the lack of a *sufficient* maintenance for each individual and his fa-

How far is want attributable to Government?

Man is stimulated both by reason and instinct to seek his own happiness, and this tendency, provided it be not exercised to the injury of others, is allowed to be laudable. Whatever checks it must therefore be evil, and, as referable to human agency, blameable.

Considered with respect to its political happiness or misery, society may be supposed to exist under the following forms.

1. A Community may be planted on a soil capable of feeding but a part of its numbers, or in a pestilential atmosphere, or on the crater of a volcano. It is evident that in all these cases, misery must ensue, whatever might be the form of Government, because the obstacles to publick happiness are natural, and therefore unavoidable.

2. It may be settled in a fertile country, but have increased beyond any possible increase of the fecundity of the soil. Here too, Nature bars the efforts of human interference, as effectually as in the former cases.

3. Suppose it however fixed on a territory capable of supporting more than its present numbers, and yet a large portion of these suffering from want,* how far would Government in this instance, be chargeable with crushing or paralysing the universal tendency towards

mily. In the extreme it annihilates personal freedom, since it is immaterial whether the laws deprive a man of his liberty, or whether his poverty denies him the means of redress, should it be taken from him illegally.

* The United States themselves present a curious illustration of this case. There exists in several States a body of men, constituting a majority of the population in many districts, who labour constantly, and yet never procure beyond the coarsest food, by which their bodily strength may be supported, without a single additional comfort. This cannot proceed from a redundancy of population, since every year new townships are erected in these states and new villages built; nor from the poverty of the soil, for their labour furnishes others with luxuries; but they are slaves, that is, they possess nothing and their masters all. But were the social edifice dissolved and rebuilt by physical force, would the result be the same? Evidently not, for one master is not equal in strength to 50 or 100 slaves. The inequality, therefore, and consequent misery are the work of Government.

happiness? To answer this question, we must refer to the *cause* of the evil complained of. Why do some want, when Nature would yield enough for all?

A deficiency of individual exertion is the cause in some few instances, but, unless artificially obstructed, self-love is on the average abundantly sufficient to excite to self-gratification. There are few men, who if placed on a desert island, would rather starve than work; few who having obtained the necessaries, would not purchase by toil some of the comforts of existence. The cause must therefore be something insurmountable by human industry. Let us assume the case of a slave.

Why are the labours of a slave insufficient to procure his happiness? Because he labours for another, who, actuated by self-interest, will yield him no more of the product of his toil, than barely suffices to preserve him in a condition fit to continue it.

Grant him his freedom, would his situation be bettered by it? If his quondam masters continued absolute lords of the whole soil, and this monopoly were secured to them by power, clearly not. He would be forced to receive the minimum of subsistence as before. The proximate cause of his distress would be accumulation of property in the hands of a governing class, but the effective cause would be the law or system of Government, by which this accumulation was created and maintained.

Wherever the feudal system existed, accumulation was effected by laws of primogeniture, entails, escheats, and forfeitures, which, with the aid of Ecclesiastical fraud, divided the property of each state, betwixt the King, Lords, and Church, leaving for the people's share, labour and oppression. When feudalism decayed, it left social institutions so constructed, as to afford a fit basis for the modern substitution by which accumulation is still preserved, Taxation.*

* Taxation has been said to divide instead of accumulating. Suppose a nation to raise 50,000,000*l.* annually in taxes, it is evident such an imposition goes to divide as far as the *payers* are concerned, for no accumulation can take place without a co-extensive division; but what is the case with regard to the *receivers?* It cannot be said, that the whole sum is divided among the contributors, for then why raise it? It must therefore be divided among a less number, and this is accumulation. It is true the soil may ostensibly continue in the same hands; but as long as the occupiers yield

The American system, not being founded upon feudal principles, rejects the law of primogeniture common to European Governments, and having subjected taxation to National Sovereignty, leaves accumulation to the natural order of events, by which it is alternately reproduced and destroyed.

Men are born unequal in strength, talents, and application: their success in life is consequently unequal: one man rises into affluence, another subsides into poverty. But moral qualities are not inheritable: the active and skilful father is succeeded by an indolent or weak son, and *vice versa*. Thus accumulation perpetually alternates with division, and the general level of society is no more destroyed than is that of the ocean, by the billows which swell and subside upon its surface.

Would not this system, in any other country but America, produce misery, by removing all checks to a superabundant increase of population, and thus render the condition of society worse generally than before? Perhaps it would: perhaps too, nature may have remedies in store, when the occasion shall require them: in either case governments which create inequality, and consequent misery, by law, are not justifiable; first, because it is contrary to reason to substitute a positive for a possible evil; secondly, because they have in no case been empowered to sacrifice the present generation to posterity; thirdly, because in doing so they consider neither the present generation nor posterity, but are actuated by self-interest only, according to which they substitute the increase of their own power for the general good.

SECTION V.

CONCLUSION.

I have thus far touched upon the general principles and most striking effects of the American system.

the *chief part* of their product in taxes, they are no other than cultivators or *Villani* for the benefit of the receivers. They may be treated with indulgence to render their services more profitable, or with harshness, lest they should acquire courage to resist, or sagacity to escape. The mode of their treatment is indifferent to the fact.

With respect to its relative value, and to the advancement it may be considered as having made in the science of politicks, there will probably exist much diversity of opinion, but none, I think, as to its utility with reference to the American people. It has survived the tender period of infancy, and outlived the prophecies of its downfall.* By the triumph of the Democratick party, its principles have been fostered into maturity, and their application illustrated by experience. It has borne the nation triumphantly through a period of domestick difficulty, and external danger; it has been found serviceable both in peace and war, and may well claim from the nation it has saved, and honoured, the votive benediction of "*Esto perpetua.*"

* I allude to Mr. Ames' Essay "On the Dangers of American Liberty," written in 1805. Fisher Ames was the Burke of America. With an understanding vigorous, and highly cultivated, he had the same vividness of imagination, united with acute, it might almost be said, morbid sensibility. He saw objects dimly, through the medium of discoloured feelings, but his brilliant and heated fancy supplied the deficiencies of reality, till he started at the phantastick creations of his own eloquence. The French Revolution had doubtless its admirers in America, and where political feelings know no restraint, the expression of them will go even beyond the truth. There might be individuals too, whose proper element was confusion, and who would therefore have gladly raised a tempest they hoped to govern, but to revolutionize a nation by speeches and newspapers, is a project incompatible with the known laws of human nature. Civil commotions can be raised by suffering only, and by suffering of a very intense kind. Men will not hazard a comfortable existence for the sake of metaphysical doctrines, which promise them no advantages they are not already possessed of; yet Mr. Ames assumes in his writings a possibility of this kind, and labours to shew how a few knaves may turn a happy people topsy-turvy. As might be expected, the contrast betwixt his *facts*, and his *inferences*, is ludicrously striking. Time has amply shewn the inanity of those gloomy forebodings, which too probably weighed on his own distempered spirit, and accelerated the close of a career adorned with the exhibition of splendid talents, and directed by the purest feelings of virtue and patriotism.

THE END.

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